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—The Editors

THE

Commonweal

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

THE CHRISTIAN IN THE MODERN WORLD

Barbara Ward **John Cogley** **Bernard Lambert**

William P. Clancy **John W. Simons**

Volume LXI, No. 5 November 5, 1954 Twenty Cents

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Politics is your job . . .

The life of every American worker is being profoundly affected by policies of the Administration in power. In what it has done, as well as in what it has failed to do, the present Administration has created an atmosphere of hostility toward trade unions and has narrowed the framework within which organized labor can use its strength for the benefit of worker and nation alike.

Instead, organized management is being encouraged to recoup through legislation the unfair advantages it lost through the rise of organized labor. In its avid desire to make the most of the political power it regained in the Republican victory of 1952, embattled management is teaching the workers of this nation that politics is also their job.

In the atmosphere created by the present Administration, there has been a rapid multiplication of state "right-to-work" laws. Despite campaign pledges, onerous provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act have not been erased from the federal statute books. The new personnel of the National Labor Relations Board has administered that law in an inequitable and often punitive spirit.

Through these means, gains won by labor through tremendous sacrifice and long recognized by employers have been cancelled in the hearing room and legislative hall.

Despite the need to bolster consumer purchasing power at lower income levels, the present Administration has been most generous to those in the upper income brackets. To corporate interests it has distributed with an open hand enormous gifts from the public domain, but it has ignored the pressing need to raise the legal minimum wage. Even though it has spread the benefits of social security safeguards to millions of additional Americans, it has been myopic in its steadfast refusal to deal with spreading joblessness in the formulation of public policy.

We are compelled to conclude that the policy makers of the present Administration are determined to lead this nation back to a condition in which unemployment and the fears it fosters will be used as a brake on workers' demands for more and for better.

We have reviewed the record of this Administration's labor policy. We have assessed its failures of omission and commission.

We are convinced that the hard won fruits of organized labor's economic power are in serious jeopardy. We are also certain they may be saved through the determined exercise of the political franchise on Nov. 2.

On that day all the power of government, all the weight of public policy, all the potentials of this nation's future will be concentrated in the ballot.

Shall we so strengthen ourselves at home—through curtailing unemployment, through building more homes and schools, through raising the minimum wage—so that we may be able to deal fearlessly with the world threat of communism?

Or shall we, in our hunger for greater corporate power, forget the threat to our freedoms and run government as we would run a private business—with our eyes fixed only on the profit sheet?

On Nov. 2, millions of working men and women of this nation will choose the answer. Their jobs and their welfare will depend on how they choose.

With the urgency of a call to man the picket lines, we ask you to vote on Nov. 2. Vote for those who will act in labor's interest without prejudice or discrimination. Vote for those who, in the legislative halls of the nation, will be governed by a sympathetic understanding of the needs and the ideals of America's workers.

To vote is your precious privilege as an American!

It is your job as a worker!

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Text of Statement issued by ILGWA General Executive Board at semi-annual meeting, September 16, 1954, Los Angeles, California.

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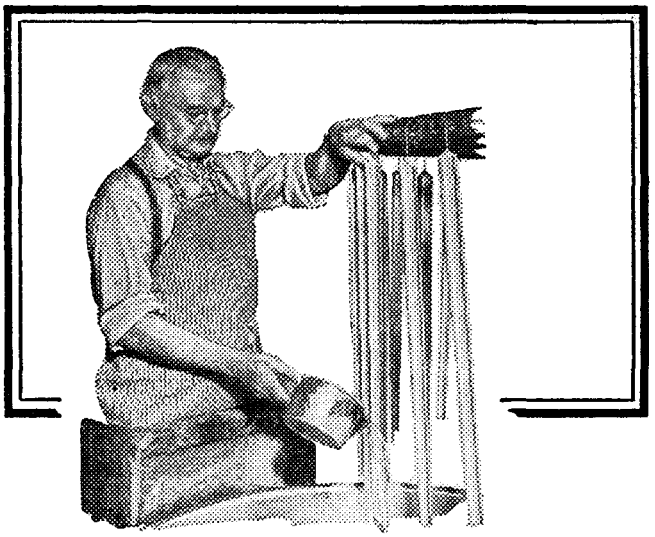

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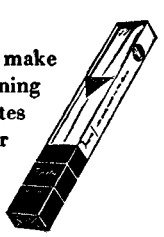

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THE COMMONWEAL
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NEW YORK 16

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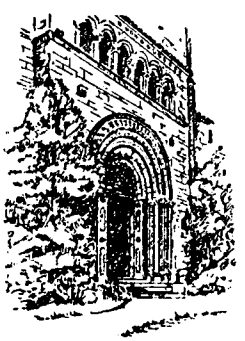

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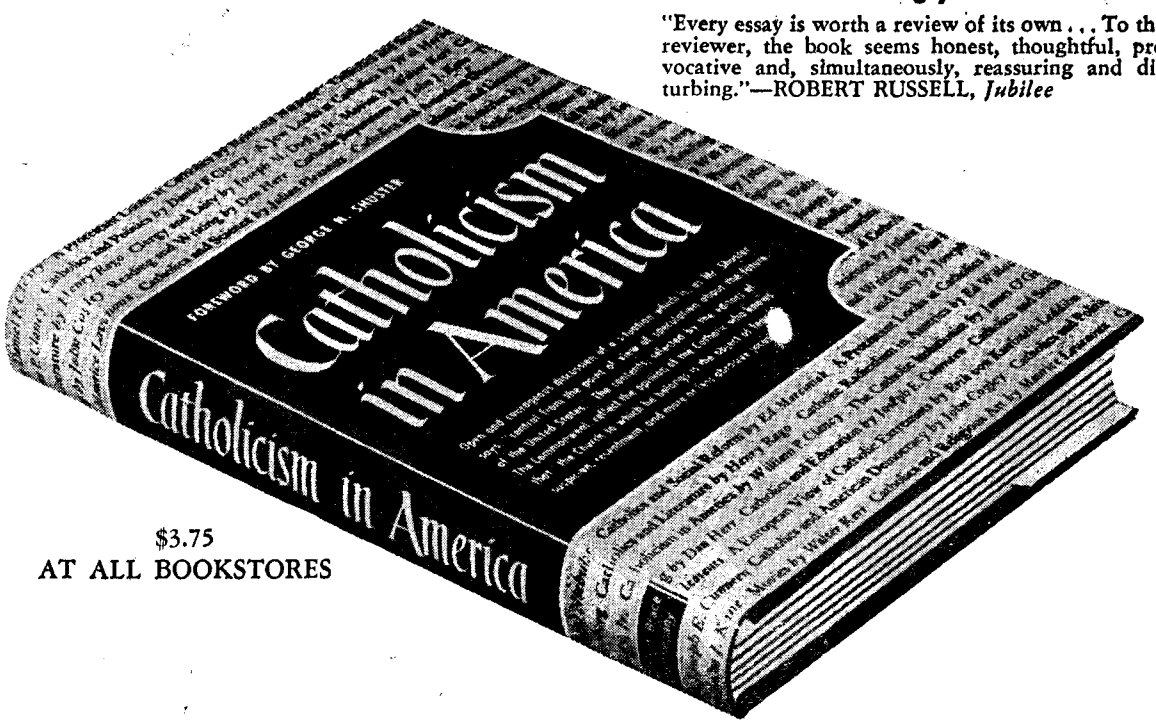

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THE

Commonweal

past and present

Our Enduring Concerns

THE end of a magazine's thirtieth year seems a good occasion for its editors to pause, examine the magazine's growth through three decades, and reaffirm its essential character. This Anniversary issue marks such an occasion for The Commonweal.

From its earliest days this magazine has sought to play a responsible role in American Catholic life, but it has never thought of itself as committed to the propagation of any particular "line." It has taken clear-cut stands on most of the major issues of the last thirty years, but it has based these stands on a prudential application of general principles rather than on any inflexible "program." It has sought at all times to avoid making up its mind in advance of concrete situations, attempting always to keep in touch with things as they are, to operate within the context of the possible, and to avoid a lofty abstraction from the real world.

But though The Commonweal has formulated no "program" through the years, it has maintained a consistent point of view, a set of convictions which have determined its approach to particular problems. The magazine has stood for certain values that were unalterable through the years. Errors of judgment and emphasis in applying these values have undoubtedly been made—and will continue to be made—but of the values themselves this magazine has no doubts. They are its reason for being.

What are these values? What point of view associates the present editors of The Commonweal with those who came before us and, we trust, with those who will be our successors? This point of view has been variously characterized as a "liberal" Catholicism, a "progressive" Christianity, a "tolerant" religious spirit. We reject these characterizations as saying at once too much and too little. Indeed, we reject any easy characterization at all for what this magazine represents.

What it represents is rooted in Catholicism; it borrows from the tradition of Western humanism; it is attached to democracy. To say, however, that it is, simply, "Catholic" or "humanist" or "democratic" is to distort it. It is all these things, true, but it is these things as they work together, as they act and react on each other to form a synthesis.

The determining factors in this synthesis are the changeless truths of Catholicism. They are the foundation and the ultimate test of everything this magazine believes. But they are by no means *all* that it believes. To form The Commonweal's final view we would search out and bind to us whatever good we can find in other—even in opposing—traditions.

THIS magazine's final point of view, diverse in its origins but never, we believe, self-contradictory in its elements, can be seen operating in the specific stands this magazine has taken through the years. The excerpts from past editorials and articles published in this issue illustrate it. Though they cover a variety of subjects and are written by a variety of editors and contributors, these editorials and articles are united by their central concerns. In them one can read The Commonweal's enduring convictions, its perennial hopes and fears.

In view of these convictions, hopes and fears, it seems inevitable, for example, that The Commonweal should have spoken strongly against the wave of religious bigotry that swept America during the twenties, that it should have warned against the two false Fronts—the "Popular" and the "Christian"— during the thirties, that it should have fought against racial segregation through the years, that it should have criticized, in August, 1945, the dropping of the atom bomb on Japan. It seems equally inevitable that this magazine should have opposed Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and Franco abroad; Earl Browder, Father Coughlin and Senator

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McCarthy at home. It seems inevitable, too, that it should have been attacked, as it has been, by *Social Justice* and the Brooklyn *Tablet* on the one hand, and by *Pravda* and the *Daily Worker* on the other.

For this magazine has spoken against a totalitarian mentality whether of the left or of the right. It has warned against an authoritarian approach to politics. It has felt a deep distrust of those demagogues who have arisen in recent decades to poison our national life. It has rejected Communism and Fascism as alternatives, condemning the inhumanity of both extremes and insisting that our hope lies in avoiding a doctrinaire approach to temporal problems. This magazine has looked for a Personalist solution to the evils of our times.

AN editorial written in 1933, quoted elsewhere in this issue, affirmed that "the historic social mission of the Church knows neither class nor other distinction. It is, therefore, historically a mission of the center, characterized by its reverence for facts rather than theories." The Commonweal has held, and will continue to hold, to this belief. It will continue to seek the center, abjuring the twin dogmatisms of left and right, insisting always on a reverence for facts and harboring deep suspicions of a politics that is tailored only to theory. It will continue to exalt the importance of means and to reject any "crusade," whatever its goal, that would attain ends without due regard to means. And this magazine will continue to emphasize the importance of the human person's freedom and dignity as the central concern, the major criterion, of all political and cultural action.

Throughout the years The Commonweal has feared the slogan approach, the appeal to surface virtue, the reliance on ideology as political weapons; we still fear them. It has rejected the recourse to authority, the security of censorship, the suppression of dissent as answers to our temporal problems; we still reject them. It has believed in a society open to variety and ideas; we will continue to advance this belief.

The Commonweal is in some ways pessimistic. It disbelieves in the possibility of a perfect political order, laws, governments, or human institutions. It views with alarm those prophets who promise a straight road to utopia. It believes that man's constant struggle is to hold his own, to keep his society from reverting to barbarism. It sees Original Sin as the first fact to be dealt with in human experience.

The Commonweal is in other ways optimistic. It thinks that human society, though it can never be perfect, can, through constant effort, be made decent and kept civilized. It believes that history is non-determined, that man is not "fated" to accomplish his own destruction, that through trial and error, through reason and learning, through suffering when needs be, man can find a *modus vivendi*. It looks to the Resurrection of the Dead on the final day of the human race.

Here and now, therefore, with Original Sin at his start and resurrection from the dead at his end, man must deal with his tractable, unpredictable, forever imperfect present. And in dealing with it he must use the only weapons he has been given—intelligence, patience, tolerance, the art of compromise. He must take the lessons he has learned from any source—from Revelation, from history, from experience—and use them to form the basis for a habitable society. The quest for a decent temporal order is a quest for universality.

SUCH is The Commonweal's approach. It is this approach that leads the magazine into its most frequent difficulties and leaves the magazine's editors open to recurring charges of having "betrayed" some cause to which they are committed.

If, for example, this magazine opposes police efforts to ban certain "objectionable" modern novels it is accused in some quarters of failing in its Catholicism. If, on the other hand, it supports indirect State aid for parochial schools or urges that an American ambassador be sent to the Holy See it is accused in other quarters of betraying its liberalism. Some people cannot believe that The Commonweal *really* accepts, say, both the infallibility of the Pope and civil liberties for Communists. We assure such people that it does believe in both—but for different reasons.

The infallibility of the Pope we accept as Catholics on grounds of the Church's teaching authority; civil rights for Communists we accept as Americans on grounds of the nation's constitutional guarantees. The one acceptance cannot be explained by the other, but neither does the one cancel out the other.

We disagree strongly with those Catholics who would apply the necessarily authoritarian nature of the Church to the experience of the State; we disagree equally with those Liberals who would apply the necessarily relative procedures of the State to the fact of the Church. The two are simply not the same and cannot admit the same tests. We therefore do not think it enough, practically, to seek the basis of an adequate culture in only one tradition. Catholics can learn from the best in

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modern secular thought, just as liberals must learn from the perennial wisdom of the Church.

We do not know—we would not try to guess—what terrors or what hopes the next decade may hold for mankind. We do not know, indeed, if anyone will be around to celebrate The Commonweal's fortieth anniversary in 1964. We do know this, however: for as long as we are able, The Commonweal will continue to seek, week by week, solutions to problems as they arise, and in so doing it will continue to represent certain fixed values, whatever the times may bring.

The Commonweal will, for example, continue to postulate the truths of the Church as the sure, unchanging truths.

It will continue to oppose all efforts toward the regimentation of opinion, all attempts toward extremist politics, and to trust in the critical spirit as man's best defense against tyranny.

It will continue to seek the center and rest content with limited, imperfect solutions since, it believes, these are the only solutions possible for men's problems in this world.

It will continue to hope that, for some years to come, a sufficient number of people in this country will feel enough sympathy with its approach to enable The Commonweal to keep publishing. For the editors of this magazine continue to believe in the principles upon which The Commonweal was founded.

Our Debt of Thanks

THE turbulence of the three decades during which The Commonweal has been venturing its opinions on the passing scene has naturally led to wide oscillations in the national climate. One factor that has made for hard going for the magazine's objectives from the outset has been the steady advance of secularism in the world, that separation of religion from life which received such an impetus back in the nineteenth century. The conviction that religion is only a private matter, with little of importance to say, directly or indirectly, on business, political or cultural affairs, has been particularly pronounced here in the United States. For this reason The Commonweal has had continually to swim against the tide.

On the other hand, the 1929 crash, the depression and the rise of the totalitarians dealt many Americans, who had been wrapped up in their own material concerns, a terrible jolt. A new sense of social responsibility was then aroused which to some extent is still with us.

All this coincided with a new emphasis on Christian social teachings. The social encyclicals, the 1919 Statement of the American hierarchy and the reforms so long and staunchly advocated by Monsignor John A. Ryan, of the Catholic University and the NCWC Social Action Department, supplied the background for a number of policies warmly advocated by this magazine, particularly during the long depression period. Many of these reforms have since been accepted by both political parties, but much remains to be done. In any case, widespread interest in the social question and the role of the State (as well as the limitations there should be to government intervention) has made the formulation of The Commonweal's socio-political views unusually meaningful. For the demands of actuality have been insistent.

Since The Commonweal began, a number of enterprising American Catholics have launched dynamic programs in order to meet the various challenges of these turbulent times. The Catholic Worker movement, founded in New York to meet the basic needs of the unemployed, destitute and outcasts, and to disseminate the Catholic Worker's version of Catholic social doctrines, spread to a score of American cities; it has enlisted zealous young Catholics by the hundreds. Friendship Houses, of a somewhat similar pattern and spirit but focused on interracial justice and goodwill, have also become important landmarks in several cities. Initiatives such as these during this period have provided a great challenge all round.

Moreover, the great troubles of the times sent many American Catholics back to essentials. A marked interest in participating actively in the Church's Liturgy has become widely manifest. The philosophy of Saint Thomas has also experienced a decided revival, thanks to the inspiration of men like Etienne Gilson and Jacques Maritain.

THE past thirty years has therefore been not only a period when the face of the world was changing, but preliminary to these changes, and following in their wake, men have been intent on the clash of ideas about things that mattered. In this sense the last three decades have been most propitious for the conducting of an American journal of opinion such as this.

Michael Williams, the first Editor and dynamic organizer of the parent Calvert Associates, was

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clearly a man with a sense of mission during the arduous months of planning and his fourteen-year tenure as Editor. His was by far the hardest task—that of translating what was merely a good idea in theory into a printed review which faithfully reached its readers week after week. And then Mr. Williams had the problem of establishing a new and unknown journal of opinion in a recognized place on the national scene. Our gratitude also goes out to Contributing Editor Philip Burnham, who with the present Editor headed the reorganization of the magazine in 1938. He put new life and a wealth of ability and ideas into The Commonweal at a time when its energies were failing, and for a number of years he devoted his time and talents to the welfare of this magazine.

The contribution of the other full-time editors has been considerable through the years. The very names of former editorial staff members conjure up a myriad of solid accomplishments in the way of writing, translations and editing for publication: Thomas Walsh, Henry Longan Stuart, Helen Walker Homan and George N. Shuster gave the magazine a splendid start in its early days. Later came such able editors as Mary Kolars, Frederick Thompson, John J. O'Connor, Harry Lorin Binsse, C. G. Paulding, John C. Cort, John Broderick, Anne Fremantle and Edward F. Meagher.

Any review of past Commonweal staff members demands grateful reference to its former theater and movie critics: Richard Dana Skinner, Grenville Vernon, James P. Cunningham, James N. Vaughan, David Burnham, Kappo Phelan and Walter Kerr. And such a survey should give a place of prominence to John F. McCormick, whose constant solicitude and good management kept the enterprise afloat during the first fourteen years.

The Commonweal itself, and the position it has attained in the field of American periodicals, would not have been possible, however, had it not been for the generosity of the various men and women who have consented to write for the magazine. These articulate outside contributors have numbered among them eminent scholars, journalists, statesmen, teachers, scientists, artists, poets and creative writers—they have included virtually all the leading Catholic writers in the Western world. They have been Americans, Europeans, Asians; priests and bishops and members of Religious Orders, as well as laymen. Most of the contributors have been Catholics, but the editors feel a particular debt also to the many distinguished non-Catholic scholars and writers who have contributed because of their sympathy with The Commonweal's interests and point of view. Nor is that all. The financial aid and moral support of individual members of the American hierarchy have time after time spurred us on. We are particularly grateful at this moment to those bishops who sent in generous contributions to keep The Commonweal publishing during this past difficult summer. A number of bishops have manifested such generosity over the years, and we are deeply grateful for their interest and support.

There are also the many pastors who have had the magazine on sale in their parish pamphlet racks, while faculties and educational administrators have likewise brought The Commonweal to the attention of a wide range of prospective readers. There are thousands of other priests, Sisters and Brothers who have taken a lively interest in our efforts to bring Catholic principles to bear on the current scene. They have all had a lot to do with the growth of the magazine's readership to its present peak in circulation.

We owe a debt of particular gratitude to our fellow-members of the Catholic Press Association. Although at times many of them do not share our point of view on particular issues, others have given warm editorial support to the general objectives of this magazine; many fellow-editors have also been particularly generous in their support of The Commonweal's drive for more readers over the last few years.

Last, but not least, in this catalogue of those to whom The Commonweal wishes to express special thanks on this Thirtieth Anniversary are the thousands of readers, clerical and lay, Catholic and non-Catholic, who have demonstrated a personal interest in the magazine in various helpful ways. Some have made a special point of telling their friends about it or of sending Christmas and other gift subscriptions. Others have generously donated additional funds at moments of the magazine's great need. Time and again they have also taken the pains to send us encouraging and morale-building letters, some of which made the point of boosting this journal of opinion in general while strongly differing with us on specific controversial issues.

Tokens of a vital interest such as all these have demonstrated the extent to which The Commonweal has been a truly cooperative venture right along. Although at no time in its history has the magazine's editorial and business staff totaled in all more than a round dozen members, the number of those who at each stage of its development have felt that they had a personal share in the work of the magazine has been legion.

This is the chief reason that the editors now launch The Commonweal on its fourth decade with feelings of confidence and hope.

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Two Worlds

PHYSICAL INTERDEPENDENCE HAS BECOME A FACT; THE MORAL SENSE HAS FAILED TO KEEP PACE.

BARBARA WARD

THE idea of mankind as a single family under the Fatherhood of God is so much a foundation of Christian thinking that, like many other fundamental ideas, it is simply taken for granted and not thought about at all. Certainly no one could say that its implications are constantly studied or that a steady effort is being made to ask what, in this second half of the twentieth century, the fact of a single humanity means in terms of moral obligation and Christian duty.

In the past, the excuse could lie in the gulf between the metaphysical idea of mankind's unity and the physical division of the universe. A man could hardly feel that the inhabitants of the Americas were his brothers if he did not even know that America existed. Anyone reading Marco Polo's account of the Mongol Empire in the thirteenth century must be struck by his efforts to counter the plain incredulity of his readers. Medieval Christians could hardly conceive of the existence of China. To have convinced them, in addition, of its enjoying a high degree of civilization was virtually beyond Polo's skill.

Even after the great age of Western discovery which brought the whole world onto a single map, physical distances still countered the idea of a common humanity, and physical interdependence had no meaning for a world in which the basic unit of production still tended to be the river valley and the center of commerce the small market town. Until the nineteenth century, therefore, the physical preconditions of recognizing all men as brothers did not exist. The idea remained a metaphysical truth with no general possibility of concrete application.

Ours is the first century in which men move round the world as they once moved round New—and old—England. Ours is the first century in which the livelihood of a Malayan peasant can be determined by a Congressional decision to maintain synthetic rubber factories in the United States. Physical interdependence has become a fact for a large part of humanity. What has *not* accompanied this sudden development is any enlargement of the sense of mankind's moral interdependence. In other words, the physical realization of Christianity's deepest insight has come about. But the truth itself—that men are brothers and that we all are our brother's keeper—is as shadowy and remote as it was when Marco Polo arrived at the court of the Great Khan or Columbus set sail for the Indies.

THIS failure of moral sense to keep pace with physical fact should be of particular concern to Christians. They believe that material society unenlightened and unredeemed by grace tends to become a vessel of destruction. A society which, while physically one, lacks any principle of moral order is hideously dangerous and Christians should be the first to perceive that danger and to discern its cause.

But there is another and more pressing reason for concern among the Christian and post-Christian peoples of the West. It is not only that they carry the responsibility of having created the world's new physical unity. Theirs is the deeper responsibility that springs from having profited most richly from that unity.

However sophisticated our moral analysis or refined our metaphysical speculations be, Christ's own parables constantly stub us against the fact that the rich have a hard time of it. They can make their riches work salvation. They can make friends of the mammon of iniquity. But the line of least resistance carries them to the fate of Dives or of the fool who filled his barns.

It is, or should be, a disturbing fact that Our Lord's clearest discrimination between those who will enjoy eternal life and those who will not is based solely upon physical charity in the most material sense. Those who feed the hungry may expect the Beatific Vision. Those who neglect "the least of these little ones" may not. Our Lord even suggests that this physical expression of neighborly love will more than offset ignorance of His Name. Many of the compassionate providers of bread and shelter may not have known the Lord, while they were loving and serving Him through His creatures. But there is no salvation for those who say "Lord, Lord" and do not the things that He says. All this is so

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Miss Ward, a former editor of the *The Economist*, has recently lived in both Asia and Africa. Her latest book is *Faith and Freedom*.

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elementary, so starkly clear in the Gospels, that the Christian knows it as soon as he can read, and often forgets it again almost as soon.

In the world community of today, there is no doubt who is cast for the role of Dives, who for Lazarus. Comparative standards of wealth are, admittedly, difficult to establish. Most undeveloped countries have undeveloped statistics as well, but a reasonable basis may be found in recent estimates made by Colin Clark. He establishes a unit of comparison—called an "oriental unit"—based upon the goods and services which could be purchased by an Indian rupee in 1948/49. On this basis, he establishes a comparative table which shows that, broadly speaking, the "Atlantic Community" of the United States, Western Europe, and the white members of the British Commonwealth, have a standard of living of over 1000 oriental units per head of population, while the vast bulk of Asia and Africa have a standard of below 200.

This broad generalization masks even sharper individual differences. The United States and Canada, for instance, may well be in the category of 7000 oriental units per head. The debatable lands of Southeast Asia—Burma, Indonesia, etc.—have under 150.

THIS absolute disparity is matched by further comparative advantages enjoyed by the West. Since the year 1500 the Atlantic peoples have systematically occupied the best and most fertile uninhabited areas of the earth. This taking over of temperate lands by the men of Europe is probably the most significant *Völkerwanderung* of the Christian era. In North and South America, in Australasia, in Siberia, the white peoples have pressed outwards, exterminating or driving back or reducing to subordinate status the aboriginal inhabitants. This white flood has even filtered into the few temperate areas in otherwise unwholesome and hostile continents such as Africa. In East Africa, the highlands of Kenya have the most congenial climate for human settlement. They have been taken over by the white man.

This appropriation of the temperate belt is not simply a matter of health, comfort and convenience—although it is all these things. It is a matter of controlling for the future the bulk of the world's best resources. The greatest increases in farming output are possible in the temperate zones of North and South America. Canada, Australia and Brazil are the most obvious areas of under-population, but the population of the United States could be trebled in relation to its resources. The mineral reserves of Canada are among the largest in the world and where, as in the Belgian Congo, tropical climate is combined with great potential mineral development, the territory is—once again—under Atlantic control.

THE instances could be multiplied endlessly. They all amount to the same thing—that the Atlantic peoples, in relation to the rest of the world, are an élite, a privileged class, a group enjoying a quite disproportionate share of the world's resources, and in certain cases (petroleum, for instance) using them up so fast that the reserves may be exhausted by the end of the century. Moreover, at present, the disparity is tending to grow greater. In the circulation of wealth in the modern world, new wealth tends to follow old wealth. The opportunities for reliable investment are inevitably greater in the rich stable communities of the West rather than in backward areas to whose poverty is now added the risk of political instability.

The case is perhaps most tragic in relation to man's basic need—food. The latest report of the Food and Agriculture Organization shows that while food production has increased by nineteen per cent above prewar in North America, in the Far East production is thirteen per cent lower. The rich countries thus have more to eat than ever before. Many of the poorer countries are eating even less. Nor, without extraordinary measures, will the picture change.

Many peoples in Asia and Africa are poor because they occupy the worst land and suffer the worst climates in the world. Unable to move on to better land which is still underpopulated, they must remain where they are, hungry, disease-ridden and shortlived, while the Western people continue to add calories to their diet and decades to their living span. The Marxist prediction of the rich growing ever richer and the poor growing ever poorer which has been disproved in the democratic countries of the Atlantic world nevertheless shows signs of being realized in the world as a whole.

One must therefore ask whether, since Christian peoples are the overwhelming beneficiaries of the modern world economy, they have any special obligation to take notice of the vast disparities of wealth and misery which exist within the single physically united world. Are any principles of Christian compassion and distributive justice involved? Any social obligation or moral imperative?

The answer which comes most easily to modern lips is that group obligations do not extend beyond national frontiers. The State is the absolute, and while a sharing of national income within the national community is now one of the bases of Western democracy, there is no suggestion that the obligations go any further. In theory, at least, for British Samaritans, the man in the ditch must be British, for Americans, he must be American, for the French, a Frenchman. The good Samaritan asks to see a passport before he sets to work.

Yet such a limitation of compassion is not Christian and nothing can make it so. It is, in fact, a part of the idolatry of the nation-state which, in the modern world,

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is the mark of both democracies and dictatorships. A faith in which there is "neither Jew nor Gentile," a faith founded upon the common Fatherhood of God and upon mankind's sonship in Christ must be based on the concept of mankind as a family—and a family in which fraternal charity is not limited by frontiers or race. To Catholics whose claim to universality is most insistent, the counter-claim of the nation-state to exclusive loyalties and obligations should be especially repugnant. It is no coincidence that the Pope, in proclaiming during the war the principles of a just peace, included among them a fair distribution of the earth's resources among the peoples of the world.

THE important point is the point of principle. Are we or are we not in the West under a moral obligation to assist in the material advancement of hungry, shelterless, disease-ridden peoples in other less fortunate lands? For the Christian, there is only one answer. We are. Once that decision is taken, the mechanics of putting distributive justice into effect are not insuperably difficult.

To the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, for instance, the participating nations contributed one per cent of their national income. It would be perfectly possible to devise a standard whereby nations enjoying more than a certain level of per capita income would contribute a proportion of their wealth to the building of wealth-producing capacity in countries which do not command them now. But the mechanics of such schemes are not the problem.

The basic difficulty is that the Christian peoples of the West do not, at present, recognize the advancement of the world's poverty-stricken peoples as their duty in strict justice, as an obligation for which they will one day be called to give account. That whole peoples can be alert to the misfortunes of others is proved by the magnificent generosity of American policy in the postwar world. But such great gestures as the Marshall Plan are held to be exceptional and entirely voluntary and to carry no trace of obligation.

That consciences are still stirring is shown by the proliferation of small-scale Western plans for technical assistance and economic aid, but no one can pretend that the actual principle of sustained aid to backward areas is generally accepted in the West. In particular, few Catholic voices have been raised to reassert the Pope's Fifth Peace Point or to plead for general recognition of the fact that in strict justice and charity the Christian peoples of the West must undertake a sustained attack upon the hunger, the disease, the homelessness and the despairing misery in which so many of the world's peoples drag out their lives.

That such a program might, incidentally, save much of Asia and Africa from Communism, is on this argument all but irrelevant—save that Communism is often the scourge bred of Western indifference. Equally the fact that it would, by expanding world production and widening markets, profit Western economies, is also beside the point. The real issue here is the positive issue of principle. According to Christian teaching, humanity is a single family. According to Christian charity, we are our brothers' keeper. In practical fact, the West today possesses overwhelming wealth. Can there be any escaping the conclusion, that, on pain of Our Lord's own rejection, that wealth must be set to work to bring bread and hope to the millions upon millions who, in this single world society, still lack both?

Things That Are Caesar's

"THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MIND AND HEART OF MAN IS LARGELY BEING FOUGHT ON A POLITICAL BATTLEGROUND."

JOHN COGLEY

WE can begin by taking certain things for granted: (1) that the conscientious Catholic need not be convinced of his duty to take an active, meaningful part in political life; (2) that while faith imposes upon the Catholic no narrow partisan loyalty to an organization or political figure, still he is obliged to relate his political activity as a citizen to his religious commitments as a Catholic; (3) that at probably no time in history has political action been more crucial than today. It is literally true that the survival of Western civilization, at the least, and perhaps the very physical existence of mankind, are at stake.

These excerpts are selected from an address given by the Executive Editor of The Commonweal at an academic symposium held during commencement week, 1954, at Bellarmine College, Louisville, Kentucky.

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I don't mean to imply that the present world crisis is exclusively or even essentially political: in its essence it is spiritual and religious. But the struggle for the mind and heart of man is largely being fought out on a political battleground. We are engaged in a *cold* war—which is to say, a political war. We have already lost some decisive skirmishes and could conceivably lose the ultimate struggle on this battleground.

All this was forcefully summed up by the Holy Father when he told a Roman audience, New Year's Day, 1947:

> It is not permissible to be a deserter, an *émigré a l'intérieur*. That is the attitude of one who, either out of contempt or because he is discouraged, does not take part in the affairs of the nation but withdraws from the conflict while the country's fate is at stake. Abstention is to be condemned even if it is a result of indifference. Indifference to ruin into which one's own brothers or people are about to fall is even worse than contempt or discouragement. The just man is a Christian who will not be satisfied with standing idly amid the ruins; he will feel it his duty to resist and prevent the catastrophe, or at least to lessen its impact. He will be there to rebuild.

AN AMERICAN FIRST

A FEW years ago, during some minor national controversy a rather highly placed judge in New Mexico announced: "I may be a Catholic, but I am an American first." The sentence was reprinted in papers all over the country. Some saw in it a brilliant expression of patriotism. It is my contention that His Honor suffered a double misunderstanding. He did not, first of all, understand what it is to be a Catholic. But—and this may be more serious for the community—I do not think he fully understood, either, what it is to be an American. For it is of the very essence of being an American that it always comes second.

I would not like to be misunderstood. Certainly one's loyalty to one's country transcends any tribal claim or rival political claim. But a man can be loyal to his country only by being loyal to himself. An American is a Jew, a Protestant, a Catholic or an unbeliever. We do not ask him, as a citizen, to be—or to act like—anything but what he is. If I am a Catholic, I believe certain things; I know that I have certain obligations to God, to myself and to my fellow man. These obligations come first with me. It is with the understanding that they come first—or, in other words, by agreement that I can act in accordance with my conscience—that I have the privileges of American citizenship.

The State does not ask me to believe what I know to be false, or to act in a way that I believe to be wrong before God. It takes me as I am, with my faith, my beliefs, convictions and sense of moral obligations. Another man may have another faith, other beliefs, convictions, a different sense of his obligations. These things come first with him. In our country, the State does not pretend to make a judgment between us. It takes us as we are and is content to come second in our lives. The District Judge who said, "I may be a Catholic, but I am an American first," missed not one but two points.

THE REAL QUESTION

THOSE who ask if Catholicism is compatible with American democracy betray, in this very wording of the question, a misunderstanding of our democracy. If there is a question, it should be: "Is democracy compatible with Catholicism (or with any other widely held belief of our people)?" The answer of course is yes. But in its Blanshard form the very question must be rejected by every American who places demands of conscience first.

FAITH AND REASON

NOW the Catholic believes in certain truths. Some truths he accepts because he is *rationally* convinced of them: the tenets of the Natural Law, for instance, or the concept of man as a rational animal capable of grasping truth and responsible to God for his acts, or the idea of the family as the basic unit of society. Other truths the Catholic believes because God is good and has given him the gift of faith—the divine origin of the Church, the doctrine of the Mystical Body, the role of Mary in the redemption of mankind.

In the first case, the Catholic's beliefs are based on *human* wisdom and refer to those things with which, as a citizen, he is primarily concerned. In the second case, his beliefs are reached through Divine Wisdom and refer to *supernatural* realities and mysteries. The Catholic will not try to force acceptance of these supernatural beliefs upon others by any means—but especially by political means. He will not try to do the work of the Holy Spirit with a ballot. But in the first case—pertaining to those beliefs that derive from natural wisdom, merely human insight and experience—he will certainly try to give voice to them in his activity as a citizen.

FREEDOM

NO Catholic worthy of the name would think twice about abiding by God's law in his political life. By the same token, no American worthy of the name

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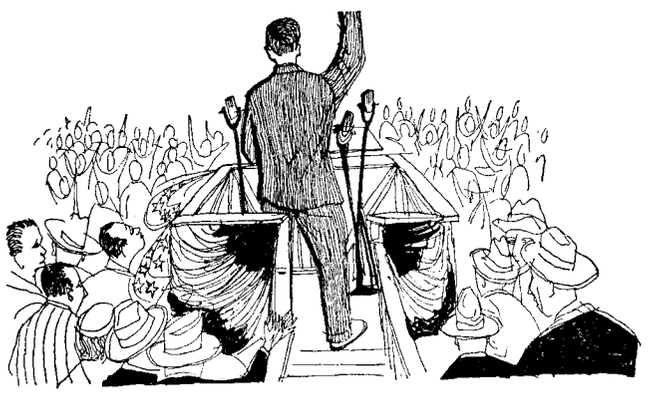
would hesitate to follow the bidding of his own conscience. That, I take it, is the very heart of what we call political freedom—that a man can act according to his own conscience, provided of course that his conscience does not lead him to destroy the political order itself, or, by threatening the common good, pervert the very end of all political action.

In the Catholic theological sense, the highest exercise of freedom is to fulfill the Will of God. It seems to me, then, that when the Catholic conscientiously takes part in political life he is giving eloquent witness at the deepest level as to just why American democracy and Catholicism are compatible.

TWO TEMPTATIONS

THE Catholic acting as a citizen faces two temptations: the one is to serve the political order at the expense of his own deepest convictions; the other is to serve his own convictions at the expense of the political order. Let me put it another way: the one is the



temptation to politicize dogma and religious energy; the other is the temptation to dogmatize politics and political energy. I will even try a third way. The one temptation is to make relative what is absolute (that is, the final truths of the faith), and the other is to make absolute what is relative (the politics we follow).

The first temptation is the allurement of secularism, or, to use the vocabulary of politics, Machiavellianism: the idea that there is no place for moral and religious concepts to come into play in the world of politics. For the secularist it is not so much a question of distinguishing between politics and religion as of erecting a wall of separation between them. The secularist position has had the most dire religious *and* political results every time it has been put into practice. It is forever being justified on realistic grounds, but history has shown that it is utterly unrealistic, since it cuts off a whole segment of reality from life; its practicality is short-lived too, to say the least. It has led to all kinds of political disasters.

If modern history shows anything, it is that he who destroys the temple ends up with the concentration camp, who lives by the sword perishes by the sword.

The secularist position has been excoriated by Pius XII. In *Summi Pontificatus*, the Pope wrote:

> There is an error which, beyond all doubt . . . . has baneful results for all nations and for the broad commonwealth of humanity. It is the error of those who impiously endeavor to disassociate the civil authority from any connection with the Divine Being, forgetting that the community, quite as much as the individual, depends upon Him as its first Author and supreme Governor. What makes it worse is that in so doing they seek to dispense the civil authority from observing any of those higher laws which have their origin in God. They permit it the fullest possible liberty of action, and that liberty of action is conceded to frail and fallen human wills, restrained by nothing but the human policies dictated by the accidents of history and by economic needs.

ENDS AND MEANS

A SERIOUS outbreak of the secularist disease has shown up recently, even in quite orthodox religious circles. It is a manifestation of the ends-and-means error—probably the most persistent of moral illusions. Shady means, it is argued, are all right in political life provided that they achieve a good end. How often during the last few years have we seen this position inferentially supported in even responsible newspapers—or heard it repeated on television panels! A certain good end—good politically, good morally—is set forth; then it is implied that a set of morally reprehensible means are justified because the end in view is so good.

Like every manifestation of the Machiavellian spirit, the reasoning is ultimately impractical. For it leads to the most disastrous perversion of politics: when bad means are used to achieve a good end, almost inevitably there is a tendency for the means to become the end and for the end to become merely a means. To take a non-controversial example because a dead one, consider the anti-Communism of Adolf Hitler. Anti-Communism is good—morally and politically. But Hitler's means? Would anyone justify them now? Those means (illegal suppressions, kangaroo courts, concentration camps) became in time an end in themselves; anti-Communism, which won so much support for Hitler, became merely a means to achieve power for the Nazi politicians.

A DISTINCTION

IT is necessary to make a crucial distinction between two principles of morality which seem akin and are often confused. The one—a good end does

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not justify evil means; the other, the proposition that under certain circumstances, when action is imperative, one has to choose the lesser of two evils, or, to put it another way, in politics one cannot be paralyzed by perfectionism. As has often been said, politics is the art of the possible, not the science of the ideal. In political life we are rarely choosing between black and white. Sometimes the choice is between two shades of gray (and which is the muddier is something even experts can't agree on readily); sometimes it is between black and gray; rarely if ever is there a clear, easy choice between good and evil. An experienced legislator, formerly a Catholic college professor, said not long ago that the great lesson he had to learn was that making political decisions means almost a constant round of choosing lesser evils.

THE ABSOLUTISTS

THE second of the two great temptations might be called the *absolutist* tendency. Again, I would not want to be misunderstood. There are certain absolutes —certain ultimate truths and principles of morality which cannot be flouted or sacrificed. I am not suggesting any relativist philosophy of life or shifting code of political morality. What I mean to say is that in political life, one has to be satisfied with *limited* goals, *possible* goals. When one set of goals is reached, there is an opportunity to move ahead in the direction of the ideal. But an all-or-nothing demand usually ends up with the nothing triumphant.

This is a difficult, painful lesson for youth. There is a perfectly natural, laudable desire on the part of young people to translate their ideals into political realities—almost with one magnificent sweep. Youth is rarely willing to settle for a limited goal but often believes it possible to translate the absolutes (truth, justice, peace) absolutely into political terms. Well, it isn't possible—and for two reasons at least: (1) Original Sin remains the most constant factor in political considerations, (2) of its very nature, the political order must be relative. It admits only of the politically possible—what, given such and such circumstances, *can* be done; not what ideally *should* be done. Ideal circumstances practically never exist.

In our own country of democratic freedoms, there are things the political order cannot do because the State has bound itself not to interfere in certain key areas of life. The people have given the State no competence, for instance, in the matter of pronouncing on religious or philosophical error. Therefore we cannot demand of the political order that it give special protection to orthodoxy or that it uproot religious error, because to do so would be to ask of the political order what it cannot give.

POLITICS: EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

WHEN it is finally learned that political action can't do everything—though it can do a great deal—some of our young leaders have a tendency to throw up their hands and retreat into political cynicism, or to embrace a kind of puritanical indifferentism. These attitudes are sterile. In the long run they are poisonous.

"Pray," said Saint Ignatius, "as if everything depended on God; work as if everything depended on you." The man who is too good for politics is too good for his fellow man—and considerably more pure than anyone on this earth has a right to be.

Church Unity and World Unity

WHERE SHOULD THE WORLD LOOK FOR A FOUNDATION FOR ITS UNITY?

BERNARD LAMBERT

THE whole Catholic Church with its "separated brethren" each year— most especially during the Octave dedicated to Ecumenicism, from January 18, Feast of the Roman See of Saint Peter, to January 25, Feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul—prays for the Reunion of all Christians in one and the same Church.

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It is not without motives of the highest gravity that such universal prayers are addressed to Heaven. These motives assume great importance at this time, because of a religious event this year of the utmost importance for the Church and the world. I refer to the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, held in Evanston, Illinois, August 15-31 on the theme: "Christ—the Hope of the World."

This writer had the opportunity to read the docu-

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ments issued at the Assembly. Let me say that more than once they forced my admiration and assent, particularly the reports: "The Evangelizing Church"; "The Responsible Society in a World Perspective"; "International Affairs"; "Inter-group Relations"; and "The Christian and His Vocation."

Many of the views expressed there could and should become the basis of a fruitful dialogue between Catholics and Protestants under the terms of the December 1949 Instruction of the Holy Office, in a common spirit of high fidelity to the complete will of Christ and the integrity of Christianity.

However, many common views cannot obscure the underlying reality of a Protestant theology of the oneness and the nature of the Church based on the axiom "*Simul justus et peccator.*" This is particularly evident in the report "Our Oneness in Christ and our Disunity as Churches."

The Orthodox delegates at Evanston felt it necessary to make a strong declaration concerning Faith and Order. They stated that, "The whole approach to the problem of reunion is unacceptable from the standpoint of the Orthodox Church."

The Orthodox delegates expressed what the Catholic Church would have expressed more completely.

My intention here is not to make a detailed study of the considerable work of Evanston, but on the occasion of this Assembly to express the Catholic point of view on the relations existing between Church unity and world unity, thus uniting under a central point of view many themes underlying the work of the Assembly.

TO pose the problem at once: All Christians believe, on the basis of Christ's discourse with His disciples at the Last Supper, that the royal way to salvation for the world is through religious unity. Now the world is divided politically and religiously. Can it be a matter of indifference for the Church that the world is politically divided unto danger of death? And can it be a matter of indifference for the world that the great religions claiming Christ as their head are divided even unto contradiction on essential points? Has the Church something to gain from political unity in the world for the accomplishment of her mission? And has humanity something to gain from religious unity among all Christians in its efforts to attain the world's common good?

The Church revealed the idea of a universal society to the world. Could it be that religious unity of all Christians in one and the same Church is the most stable and radical condition of political unity in the world? Or should the world look elsewhere? And where—after meeting with so much mortification in its attempts to base its ultimate unity on other than what the hopes of history and the judgment of theology see as its only possible foundation? Is the history of the world and of the Church directed towards ever higher unity, or is the end of everything only contradiction, division, catastrophe? Indeed, we believe that even in unity the Church and the world will have to follow their own Way of the Cross to arrive at Resurrection; but it is a matter of profound faith to the heart of believers that the prayer of Christ for unity must not have been in vain, any more than the Cross can have been in vain.

Political and religious division in the world is not willed by God. This cross is the consequence of the sin of men: men in the Church and men in the world. Division, heresy, schism, all being sins, cannot be willed by God. Division is a cross which men made for themselves, while the great Cross of Christ is the unique principle of unity, because it is the principle of reunion and universal restoration.

The division of the political and religious world is a consequence of sin. Only by the unifying power of the Cross can religious reunion and political union be achieved, for only the Cross can answer the prayer for unity.

The greatest benefit our modern world is waiting for is unity in depth and unity in extension. Unity of man within himself at the psychological, religious and vital levels; unity of all men at the plane of human and religious common good. Of all the deeds of temporal and spiritual mercy which solicit the charity of the Church and of Christians, unity today is the greatest because it involves the very question of salvation, not only temporal, but eternal. Political unity is the condition of peace and survival. But what exactly is the role of religious unity as regards political unity? That is the question.

POLITICAL UNITY IN THE WORLD

THE heart of the debate to which we must come sooner or later is this: In order to ensure world unity is it sufficient to enlarge the house? Is it sufficient to do more of the same things we have done in the past—and disseminate knowledge of them through universal communication? Of course we believe that the unity by nature of the human species is in itself capable of creating an international community. Does not man possess the natural proportionate means for this in the fields of technique, culture, civilization? And are not science, art, law, literature, by their very universality, efficient means of unity, at least for rapprochement and cooperation?

Politics is the art of the possible. The contention is not that ideal unity will never be realized. But one thing is certain: Universal society will be possible only in the measure that efforts towards *bonne entente*

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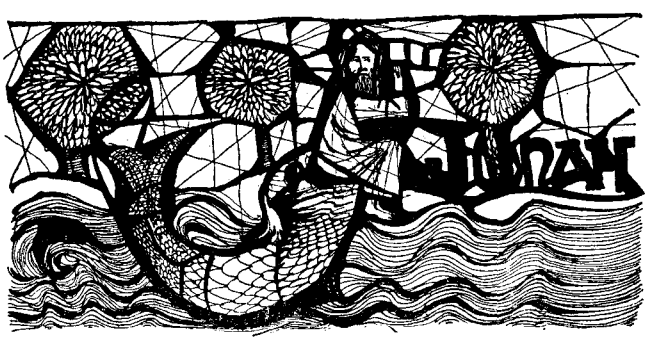
and rapprochement are based on and finalized by what is essential to any society: the union of intellects and of hearts; or shall we say by an *internationally-minded community*?

Assuming political unity has been achieved: whence shall come its authority—since no society can exist without real and efficient authority? Whence shall come the strength of its ties, if not from the acknowledgement of a power welding and supporting its will, disciplining its passions and its interests, orienting its intelligence towards international order and a humane ideal? This can only be the fruit of a certain common spirit. Hence, in a universal society, political unity can be achieved only through an internationally-minded community.

However, if we observe the present state of things we find that this kind of unity has not yet been created, nor, in all probability, is it at the point of being efficiently created, in spite of the generous efforts made by the League of Nations and the United Nations organization. Most likely we are only just at the very beginning of international society. The world-age



is only a recent reality and prolonged international education will be needed because of the presence of so many diversified interests, traditions, cultures, races, religions, civilizations and mental ages in peoples. Man has been on the earth for five hundred thousand years. Whatever acceleration history may experience and whatever convergence civilization may see which will hasten maturity in men of today, it remains that there are undoubtedly more stages to pass than is generally believed before the international community is rooted in the hearts of men.

And so we are faced with the same hypothesis: It will not be possible to build this united world without an internationally-minded community. This proposition, if we accept it, leads to this other: what can be the foundation of this community of spirit, and how can it realistically achieve the establishment of a universal society? Various hypotheses present themselves:

I. *Shall it be the predominance of societies of tested freedom*? Mr. John Foster Dulles declared before the Ecumenical Assembly of Amsterdam in 1948 that "The others, who are the majority, would never consent to those few societies' being accorded world supremacy. They would, in a sense be justified. For while the free societies have shown good capacity to govern themselves, they have not shown the same good capacity to govern others, of different races and cultures. It would not advance us to recreate and extend the colonial system under the guise of 'world government.' "

II. *Shall it be force and coercion*? Mr. Dulles continued: "The great majority of the world's population will not, and should not, agree to be ruled by the 'free societies.' The 'free societies' will not, and should not, go back under despotism.

"This impasse is a source of great peril. It leaves international change to be effected largely by force and coercion. It does so at a time when the means for corrupting men's souls and destroying their bodies have grown far beyond anything that the world has ever known."

And Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Sapientiae Christianae* demonstrates that "nothing is weaker than force when it is not based on religion. More apt in this case to engender servitude than obedience, it is pregnant with great social troubles."

It would serve no purpose, therefore, if in order to realize world unity we were to arrive at a higher totalitarianism, to the prejudice of the liberty of peoples.

III. *Shall it be technique*? His Holiness Pope Pius XII in his last Christmas message gave a warning that the technical concept of life predominating at present was blinding man to religious truths. It is corrupting the natural order of life of modern men, their personal dignity, the general economy, and relationships between nations.

What can result from this? "At best," says His Holiness, "a peace of fear, and not the peace that is security for the future. We must untiringly repeat it and persuade those people who are easily misled by the illusion that peace consists in an abundance of goods, when in reality sane and stable peace is mostly a problem of spiritual unity and moral dispositions."

If we believe that world unity could result from the community of enlightened materialism common to the two great present political blocs, contemporary events again project before our eyes what Saint Augustine had to say in his own times: "Matter is a principle of division; union comes from the spirit."

IV. *Shall it be a laicized idea of the "City of God?"* What I mean is this: Political universalism, being "neutral," would be capable by invoking its laicity, its very temporality, of realizing unity of mankind by setting aside particularism in religions, especially the divisive question of pontifical primacy in matters of universal religious jurisdiction.

Based on autonomy of the temporal, the rational,

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the profane, the lay, and the natural in their order, it believes it can conceive the possibility of ensuring the efficacious good of a unique temporal society of mankind.

With this we are nearing the heart of the debate. None of the means we have mentioned before has revealed itself capable of constituting a political body as it cannot even constitute an internationally-minded community. Could the lay idea do it better?

ACCORD AMONG ALL CHRISTIANS

HERE the experience of history and, as well, the judgment of both Protestant and Catholic churches rise to proclaim that *in no way can laicization of the idea of the City of God* be a guarantee of stable and radical unity for the world. The question is not to enlarge the house, to have more societies united by social bonds of the same nature. The question is, essentially, *to open a window heavenward in this house which is the world inhabited by modern man.* The question is not simply to have more, but to have *something else*. Only a universal society, indeed autonomous in its order, but acknowledging that its end is oriented towards the same end as that of the universal religious society which is the Church, can be certain of finding its unity guaranteed by this unconfused union of the natural with the supernatural, this subordination to a principle transcending all division of culture, race, tradition, time, space and civilization.

There are a series of common findings made equally by Protestants and Catholics which constitute orientation towards the realization of a universal society and, as well, a ground for rapprochement among the various churches. These are:

1. Evidence of laicization, deChristianization and paganization of the world due to separation of life from religion at all levels: individual, familial, cultural, social, national, international. As against this, there is the necessity of restoring the union of life and religion. On this point the Encyclical letters of the Popes and the conclusions of the best among Protestant theologians show a united front.

2. Common anguish at the sight of division in the world, with its vital call to unity and peace in the name of survival. And the condition given as essential is union of religion with international life.

3. Responsibility of Christian churches in the restoration of the union of religion and life. It may happen—certainly not wrongly in the case of the Catholic Church—that the various churches blame each other for the division of the world and the secularization of life, but the dominating accent is perhaps that there is a common task to be done and unity to be restored by common effort.

4. Renewed consciousness of the mystery of the Church, in Catholics and alike in the best among Protestants, on which to base that saving action which is indispensable to the world.

These convergences and fundamental accords should not blind us to the considerable differences existing. But as appears certain, it is the thinking of all the churches that none of the means enumerated above can serve as a basis for an internationally-spirited community. Only unity of religious and moral dispositions can make this possible, their constituent elements being:

A spirit of community and of human solidarity in the pursuit of universal common good.

A spirit of justice and of peace in the tranquillity of international order.

A spirit of truth, of sincerity and honesty in relationships and agreements.

A spirit of mutual understanding and of charity in the recognition of differences and of needs.

A spirit of freedom and of respect for the human person in the recognition of the supereminent dignity conferred on man made in the image of God, and of his transcendent destiny.

Such dispositions basic to the creation of an internationally-minded community—which any person wanting this object should logically be willing to accept as means to attain it—are essentially religious and moral. What are they, in effect, if not the essentials of the Kingdom of God as expressed in the Preface to the Mass of the Feast of Christ the King? "A Kingdom of truth and of life, of sanctity and grace, of justice, love and peace."

An internationally-minded community can only be established on a religious basis, one that is Christian in nature. That is, it must possess the oneness of religious and moral unity.

We now come to a connected problem. What will be the foundation of this religious Christian unity? Considering the ultimate fate of the oneness of this community of spirit, and thence of the world political unity itself, can this basic unity be indifferently Christian or Catholic?

THE HOUR OF PROTESTANTISM

WHILE Catholicism has always considered the fractioning of Protestantism as leading irremediably to decadence, today, contrariwise, a resurgence of hope is observed within Protestantism. Protestantism envisages its future with optimism: Far from the point of death, its hour to deliver its message to the world would seem at last to have come. Far from declining, it would just have turned the point of maturity. The providential moment would at last be at hand when it could proclaim the full meaning of the Reformation and thus bring to our politically and religiously divided

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world the doctrine it would need for unity, both at the level of Church organization and of temporal order. And in this world-wide consciousness of its mission, Protestantism feels revitalized and unified. Protestant Ecumenicism, which is primarily a movement towards reunion of all Protestant denominations, was born out of this conviction and this hope. Protestantism would now have its hour and its world-wide opportunity. To a world awakening to political unity it would bring religious ties. To a world religiously divided it would offer as a religious rallying formula its concept of a Church essentially invisible but with a formula of visible unity in the idea of federation.

What can be the outcome of this movement? We can observe throughout the world a renewal of social and missionary activity in the Protestant churches, as well as attempts toward unity, with an opening towards the Catholic and the Orthodox churches. In the measure that Protestantism is awakening to the religious sense under secret pressure from the Christian energies enclosed in it and the influence of the stimulating grace of the Holy Spirit, we must rejoice, because what is good comes from the Holy Ghost. And then the logical issue of this inner drive, if it were faithfully to follow the inspiration of this exciting and converting grace, should be definite conversion to the mystery of Catholic unity. For the Holy Ghost is a Spirit of unity and can move only towards unity.

However, in the measure that this movement is "Protestant"—and it incontestably is, allowance being made for a catholicizing wing, in spite of sometimes too-wishful interpretations made by Catholics—it would imply that the process of religious resurrection now active in Protestantism and directed by the grace of the Holy Ghost towards total conversion would be blocked by human deviations. The impetus thus would stop short of total conversion, to fix itself in a renovated, enlarged and unified Protestantism. Such is the drama of Protestantism today. There is a tension between the main body of the Protestant Ecumenical movement and the catholicizing wing. The latter either will win the rest of the movement to integral Catholicism, or will continue its way alone to Catholicism. And then, under the ever more perceptible pressure of internal differences, the rest of the movement will revert to divisionism.

How can the oneness in Christ of the one hundred and sixty-three member-churches of the World Council of Churches be reconciled with the major contradictions in belief existing among them? Does not oneness in Christ imply oneness in faith? Otherwise is Christ not divided? Don't our separated brethren believe that only when Christ is wholly received may there be real oneness in Christ, and consequently the unity of all Christians?

Of course, this writer knows that Protestants argue that their divisions result from what they call different vocations of faithfulness to diverse aspects of Christian truth. But can we really talk of faithfulness if the price of that faithfulness is the rejection of major parts of our Christian heritage?

The very important Evanston report on Faith and Order tries to reconcile the present "Disunity as Churches" with "Oneness in Christ" through an application of the theory "*simul justus et peccator*." We respect the sincerity of the theologians who attempted this conciliation. They were consistent with the core of Protestantism. Their stand might be summed up thus: The disunity of the churches is a sin. This sin is already forgiven in Christ on the Cross. The churches must constantly strive to overcome this state of disunity and to be faithful to the grace of unity given in Christ and tending towards visible manifestation. In Christ all the churches are justified for the sin of disunity by virtue of the subsidiary atonement of the Passion. But the churches remain sinners because of their disunity, which they nevertheless must try in repentance and obedience to overcome so as to be really faithful to the grace of unity given in Christ.

I CONFESS that a Catholic does not feel much at ease about that theory. Is it not rather a self-deception? Doesn't it close the way towards a greater unity of all Christians more than it opens it? I will not say that it implies an encouragement to the churches to remain disunited any more than the same theory applied to the individual is in the view of Protestant theology an encouragement to sin. But it seems rather an attempt at explanation, a justification coherent with the core of Protestantism, rather than a constructive approach to the reunification of all denominations of Christians.

There is a choice after all. Two formulae of religious unity are proposed. It will have to be one of two things. Either Protestant Ecumenicism and Orthodox churches will bring about their union with the Catholic Church by participation in the mystery of her unity, and in this case world political unity will have its greatest opportunity to find its most solid foundations through the radiant influence of the Christian bloc over the rest of the world; or the Protestant religious world will of itself endeavor to create unity in the political world. Let us assume, for the sake of the hypothesis, that they achieve this. We will then have a world still religiously divided to the greatest prejudice of political unity. Are these intolerant findings? Not at all, because in this case Catholics and Protestants alike would be intolerant. All affirm that the present religious division is a scandal in the eyes of the rest of the religious world. How can Mohammedans, Buddhists, Confucians, Hindus, and others ever believe in the

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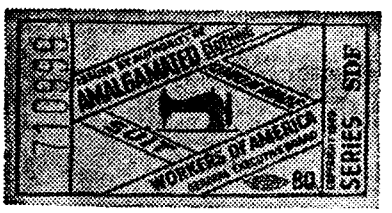

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Church of Christ if Christians themselves are divided unto contradiction on the essential elements of her constitution?

Christians and Catholics today want to end this division so that the world may recognize in Christians the disciples of Christ, so that the world may accede to the universal society.

IS IT POSSIBLE TO WANT THE OBJECT AND NOT TAKE THE MEANS TO ATTAIN IT?

THERE is a great chance that Protestant Ecumenicism may desire an excellent object and not really want the means to attain it. As a matter of fact, for Protestantism to want the religious world to attain unity by itself, or to want to establish what in reality

is a compromise between Catholic unity and Protestant unity, are two equivalent ways of wanting an object and not wanting to take the means to attain it.

In effect, there is a particular theory underlying this effort. It is the concept of "Evangelical Catholicity." This doctrine is based on a personal interpretation of the axiom: "*Ubi Christus ibi Ecclesia.*" "Where Christ is there is the Church." Any Christian group giving in its doctrine total allegiance to the Savior, and manifesting in the living testimony of its members the characteristics of the Spirit of Christ, is evidencing the fruits of the Holy Ghost and thus belongs to the Catholic Church—or so goes the doctrine. In this way, catholicity would not be the privilege of a unique group—the Catholic Church—but a common status open to all groups, provided they fulfill the double condition of doctrinal allegiance to the Lord and Christian testimony. Then it would not be adhesion to a privileged group that would make one a Catholic, but pure inner adhesion to Christ, the untemporal center and transcendent source of catholicity. Jesus Christ Himself, through faith and life created by Him in those who profess to be His disciples, would determine ultimately who belongs to the Holy Catholic Church. As salvation is obtained by faith in Him, so catholicism would be. Roman Catholicism, on the contrary, believes that investment of self in Christ

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has to be mediated by investment in the Sacrament of Christ which is the Catholic Church.

Then what would be the meaning of Protestant Ecumenicism? It would be to cause all churches to adhere to the heart of a catholic church conceived as an invisible transcendent reality generating inner unity; and to lead at the level of visible unity the diverse ecclesiastical organizations to federate into a visible world body of churches. Destined as it would be to coordinate Christian forces with a view to a common strategy concerning charity and to organization of the temporal generally, this body would not be an essential part of the mystery of the Church, but its best external condition.

So the grace of unity would only be the grace of a common reunion around the theory of the invisible Church where all could agree by reducing their present differences to a common denominator; and the grace of a common reunion in a federation resulting from human accords.

The Catholic Church has a different conception of the Church and of her unity. The Church is the great Sacrament of Christ and this presence of the Mystery of Christ in the Church pervades her very visibility. In other words, for her the visible unity of the Church does not result from contractual accords, but is the refulgence of the Incarnation of Christ in His Mystical Body. Therefore, visible unity and invisible unity are one and the same mystery. The one cannot exist without the other. The mystery of the unity of the Church is oneness, like the Mystery of Christ Himself. And so, as a miracle, a mystery, and a fact, the unity of the Church cannot come from men, but from the diffusion of the Mystery of the Unity of Christ present sacramentally in His Church.

Consequently, the unity of the Church has not to be reconstituted because it is already present in the Catholic Church. What is to be reconstituted is the unity of Christians. The task of men in this mystery is not to pretend that they can reconstitute it, but to ensure its preservation, its dispensation, its fructification; to communicate it to men and bring them to it.

CATHOLICITY AND UNIVERSAL SOCIETY

THUS the Catholic Church believes that for men fundamental unity has first of all to be unity in the truth of the Catholic Faith. She considers that visible unity as proposed by present-day Protestantism, i.e. unity of strategy, unity of charity, unity of federation, even with honorary—or at the most, directive—primacy recognized in the Pope, could only be illusory unity. How can practical unity be really created without preliminary accord of the minds in the Truth? There are too many essential points of contradictory opposition among Catholicism and Protestantism for

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unity to result from compromise, either dogmatic or practical. How can the most, which is unity, result from the less, which is division into opposed concepts?

Is it intolerance on the part of Catholics to hold such thinking? If so, it consists in being wholly logical about the Incarnation and in pointing to the fact that one cannot want a universal end if one does not take the proportionate means to attain it—unless of course one really does not want the end. But this is another question.

It is impossible to reunite men in one religious body unless it be within a principle which is Catholic, that is, universal, which by its transcendence can reconcile oppositions. And the proof, again? It resides in the contradictory opposition among Protestant sects—in spite of their accord on fundamental points —which will wreck any efforts they may make to realize unity among themselves unless they transcend themselves in the true conception of the Church, as she alone can unify their partial truths. And how, *a fortiori,* could unity be realizable at the level of regrouping Protestantism, Catholicism and Orthodoxy? And how even more at a world level?

This is not to say there exists no universal link capable of uniting men as men. Rather it is that world unity is not simply a matter of broadening or extending—of universalizing human bonds. The question is to know whether if these bonds are not moral they can unify? Beyond this, the question is whether if these bonds are not religious, even if they are moral, they can unify; and still beyond that, whether without a religious unifying principle, even though the bonds are religious, they can unify. This being settled, it remains to be determined if this principle will really be Catholic, universal, capable of reuniting all men, or if it will only be a compromise or a juxtaposition of diverse religious forces meeting on certain Christian points, but which in their globality are specifically different.

It is for us to choose. Do we want unity on such a base of compromise, juxtaposition and spiritual rivalry? World political unity through strict, natural self-reliance, which in the first place would be most difficult to realize on account of the wound of Original Sin and the subsequent faults of men, would be so much the less likely to be accomplished if religious forces themselves continued to be divided.

Our world is indeed in a tragic situation. It is divided politically and religiously. The problems of the union of Christians and the union of men are vitally and necessarily connected.

World unity cannot be accomplished by laicization of the idea of the City of God, because religion would then be separated from international life by the fallacious pretext of unifying the world under a common denominator. Nature thus would sever itself from the very restorative sources of its unity. The experience was had in Europe that any attempt to laicize the City of God by substituting a purely human bond for the fundamental religious bond is destined to failure. Why should we try to repeat at a world level a formula which has proved disastrous?

If, on the other hand, the wish is to create a common bond in a common spirit, is it not necessary also to accept the conditions of this choice? It is the task of the universal political society to work autonomously for the world common good on the basis of natural ties and natural means. And it is the task of the Catholic Church to weld the final link by the oneness of a same religious truth, a same Catholic faith; one force capable of realizing and maintaining the communion of minds. But one necessary phase must be traversed and it is the reunion of all Christians. In our present world the unity of men cannot come from the law, from nature, without the simultaneous intervention of grace, and from the great Mediatrix of grace that is the Church, a principle capable of fortifying, correcting, disciplining and finally unifying human bonds in a higher unity.

To help through prayer and cooperation the maturing process of the Protestant Ecumenical movement towards Catholic unity is therefore one of the most urgent tasks of the hour. With Christians reunited in One Church, the rest of the world will in the face of such a miracle of charity and of faith believe with more reason that Christ came on earth to bring them salvation, since temporal and eternal salvation will have become the more accessible to them through the unity of all Christians.

IN conclusion, it is an honor for me to have the privilege of quoting His Holiness Pope Pius XII, of whose words the present exposition is merely a commentary. On February 20, 1946, on the occasion of his famous consistorial address to the thirty-two new cardinals from all parts of the world, he expressed himself in the following terms: "If today so many people everywhere, in anxious expectation and fervent hope, turn to the Church to ask her what is her part in the salvation of human society, in the establishment of this inestimable benefit more precious than all durable treasures; i.e, internal and external peace for nations, the answer of the Church may be multiple and varied, as her possibilities are varied. However, the great, the definite answer, which virtually contains all the others, remains always the unity and integrity of the Church founded in God and in Christ. Hence the necessity—first of all for the sons of the Church, but equally for human society generally—to have an exact and clear notion of the practical influence exercised by this unity and this integrity."

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The Area of Catholic Freedom

IT IS WIDER THAN THOSE OUTSIDE THE CHURCH CAN SOMETIMES SEE OR UNDERSTAND.

WILLIAM P. CLANCY

A CATHOLIC, by the profession of his faith, has the advantage of possessing a large area of certain knowledge—the area of those first truths on which the Church has spoken with authority. Here the Catholic is relieved of questions; he has only facts: *Roma locuta est; causa finita est.*

Rome does not speak often, but she speaks clearly and magisterially at those times in history when great issues are in doubt, when the human spirit is assaulted, when she herself must choose between divergent paths. At such a time the Church looks to herself, to her own nature and destiny, and gives final answers. Much of the nineteenth century was such a time. During the pontificate of Pius IX the spirit born of the Enlightenment and Revolution reached its full strength and, under the name of Progress, threatened the very existence of the Church. Pius IX responded by condemning wholesale those principles and slogans most valued by the Enlightenment and Revolution. He denied that the Church could or should reconcile herself with such liberalism or progress as they represented.

There were Catholics who had hoped for a different resolution of the conflict between the Church and modern civilization. Newman and Acton in England, Lacordaire and Dupanloup in France—the great liberal Catholics of the nineteenth century—had sought to avert so decisive a break between the City of God and the City of Man. They had worked for a greater restraint on the part of men in both camps. But this was not a time of restraint, and the moderates lost. The rupture between the Church and the world seemed complete.

But was it complete? Ninety years after Pio Nono's famous Syllabus it seems less so. What perhaps could not be recognized in the hot atmosphere of 1864 seems true now: the work of Pius IX in the area of the Church's relation to modern culture was essentially negative. This is not to deny its necessity or its value. It had to be done. With Italian armies beating against the gates of Rome the Pope could not linger over nice distinctions between what was totally unacceptable and what was redeemable in the spirit of the Risorgimento. What Pius IX named was a spirit the Church could *not* reconcile with her own spirit. He did not attempt to explore—nor, probably, to understand—what the Church could accept in the modern world.

Those Catholics who did attempt this during Pio Nono's reign were destined to frustration and defeat. They lived too soon. But the questions they raised have still to be answered. Lord Acton's writings are relevant today. The basic facts of the Church's unalterable opposition to materialism and relativism were settled in the nineteenth century; the more complex issues of the practical relationship between Catholicism and modern culture are still unresolved. Paradoxically, their resolution should be more possible because of the reigns of Pius IX and Saint Pius X. The dangers of theological Liberalism and Modernism have been made clear. The limits of orthodoxy have been drawn. No informed Catholic should fall into errors against which he has been so forcefully warned. We should therefore be able to consider things more calmly and more safely than was possible before the Syllabus and the Encyclical *Pascendi.*

WHAT are the things we have to consider? What are the unresolved issues which hang over from the great conflicts of the nineteenth century? They seem to me to fall roughly into the general questions of the areas of freedom possible within the Church, the relation of Catholics to the political life of their time, and the attitude to be taken by Catholics toward modern culture. In each of these questions we know what is *not* possible. We are plagued however, by ambiguous attitudes towards what *is* possible. Here we must still explore and discover, for the sake of both the Church and the world.

And here we can expect no syllabus to show us the way. These are areas primarily of attitude rather than of definition—areas in which no easy guideposts are possible. There are Catholics who think that the important questions have all been solved, that we need

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only consult the manuals to discover the answers. They would bind us in a nineteenth century straitjacket as we attempt to grapple with twentieth century complexities.

Such an attitude is as impossible as it is imprudent. Contingent problems cannot be solved in advance of their appearance. Each generation must face the problems of its own age. It should be guided, of course, by the experience of previous generations, but should not be deceived into thinking that the two experiences are the same. Many of the problems a Catholic must face in 1954 are radically different from the ones Pius IX answered in 1864. We have, as Catholics throughout history have had, a unique present with which to deal.

The situation, for example, which faces Catholics in the United States cannot be met by an appeal to the Syllabus. This country has known none of the fierce anti-religious, anti-clerical tradition of European democracy. Our institutions were developed in a spirit of respect for religious values. Liberalism and Progress never meant in America what they meant to Pius IX when he condemned them. In all this the United States and the Church have been especially favored. What was impossible in nineteenth century Europe because of the anti-religious bias of the age might therefore be possible here.

There is another reason why the United States offers an especially opportune climate for the working out of tensions between the Catholic spirit and modern culture. The Church itself is, in this country, vigorous and united. In Europe during the nineteenth century whole classes were lost to Catholicism and the fight today is to recover them. France, and in some ways Italy, have become mission countries in which the Church must fight a day-to-day struggle against organized forces encroaching upon those rights she still retains. Spain, still Catholic, is an island apart from the modern world, a country divorced by force from the main currents of the time, and thus has little to offer towards the solution of the time's problems. In this country, however, the best in the modern liberal faith and the strongest in the ancient religious faith find themselves together and in this fact there is reason for hope.

But serious problems also exist and it seems foolish to ignore them. In spite of—perhaps because of—its favorable situation, the Church in the United States is distinguishable by its conservatism in certain key areas of politics and culture. The churches are full; the people are faithful. Why, it seems, should we unsettle this happy state of affairs by brooding on our imperfections? Why should we risk dividing the unity of Catholic opinion in this country by a public display of differences within the Church? Why indeed, except that complacency in the long run can be deadly

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and the absence of self-criticism may place us in a permanent state of arrested development.

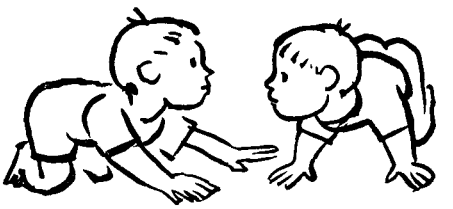
In the meantime American culture grows increasingly secularized and Catholics do little or nothing to halt this because they are, on the whole, cut off from the major cultural developments of their times. It is easy to denounce modern culture for its subjectivism, its materialism, its relativism; it is easy to use the words "liberal" and "progressive" as epithets to hurl at our contemporaries. It is much more difficult, however, to distinguish what is valuable from what is perverse in modern culture, to take hold of it and turn it, wherever possible, from its suicidal ends towards ends compatible with man's nature and destiny. This demands a positive engagement rather then a negative withdrawal. The great challenge facing Catholics today is the challenge of maturity; of facing rather than evading the problems of their age; of saving rather than condemning the world. If this challenge is to be accepted we will have to face the broad questions of Catholic freedom, politics and culture much more positively than we have in the past.

WHAT is the legitimate area of freedom within the Church? Obviously, it does not extend to dogma, discipline, or the received traditions of Catholic teaching. It does not include what is commonly understood as the Magisterium of the Church. Pope Pius XII has recently warned against the dangers of "lay theology," that is, against a theology developed independently of the Church's tradition and authority. Whatever falls within the area of that authority, he reminds us, is not the laity's to tamper with.

But the Holy Father has warned not only against "lay theology." He has warned also against a too rigid, and hence unhealthy, unanimity of opinion among Catholics on matters which do not fall within the scope of the Church's teaching office and which, of their nature, admit and demand diversity of views even within the Church. It seems that most questions Catholics are practically concerned with in the United States today—questions of the attitude to be taken toward particular political and cultural issues of our time—are included within this area of freedom. And so it would seem that here a healthy pluralism of opinion should be encouraged within the Catholic community, as well as a mutual respect among Catholics who disagree.

But this situation does not always prevail and to the extent that it does not we have failed the Church by setting her up as that monolith which her enemies consider her to be. To make the Church appear partisan and parochial is to betray the Church's spirit, which is catholic. To fear that Catholic unity cannot admit open discussion and disagreement among Catholics

From an Early Age



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have been friends. We have shared so many authors we could only list them all in dictionary type (after doing a good deal of research at that) but **G. K. Chesterton, Christopher Dawson, Jacques Maritain, Father Leo Trese, Arnold Lunn, Frederick Wilhelmsen and Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** spring to mind.

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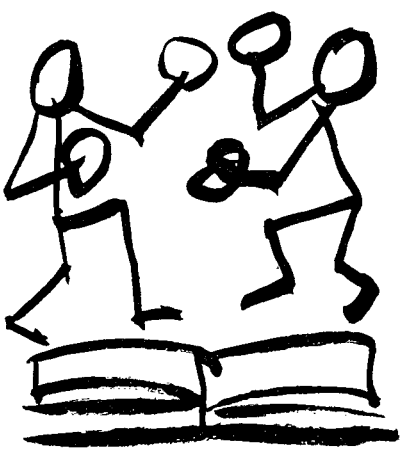

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in areas outside the Church's teaching authority is to sell-short the vigor of the Church.

In reality, what scandalizes the world and causes fear of the Church is the sight, not of Catholics' disagreeing, but of Catholics in unanimous agreement on everything under the sun. And quite rightly, for such an image is a monstrosity; it should frighten Catholics too. We all know the ancient formula: in essentials unity; in doubtful matters liberty; in all things charity. We have tended, in the face of assault from a hostile world, to emphasize the first clause. Perhaps we should now begin to lay greater stress on the second and third.

Should a layman, for example, be burdened with the charge of "anti-clericalism" if he takes public issue with a cleric in some question of temporal affairs, over some political or cultural problem, some legislation, politician, or play? It does not seem that he should, but he frequently is so burdened today if he exercises what at an earlier time in the Church, or in different countries today, would be considered his legitimate freedom of speech within the Church. Again, what causes real scandal in these matters, uniformity or diversity?

No Catholic can be anti-clerical, obviously. But there is a sense in which every Catholic should be anti-"clerical." The distinction of the two is a constant necessity for the health of the Church. The one is life, the other death for the Church's welfare. To charge a fellow Catholic with anti-clericalism because of his disagreement with a non-essential position held by his fellow Catholics—whether in politics or in the arts—is in itself a perversion of clericalism properly understood; it is a manifestation of "clericalism" at its worst.

A first and necessary step toward a Catholicism more able to enter into and influence the age seems to be, therefore, the cultivation and encouragement within the Catholic community itself of a livelier pluralism, a more vigorous diversity, in all matters non-essential to the faith. And presiding over this freedom, tempering and directing it, there must be a spirit of charity, a reluctance to advance one's own position as *the* Catholic position at the expense of the orthodoxy of one's opponent.

This spirit is not something that can be accomplished by decree or easily defined. It is an attitude that must be built slowly along the way, and it is possible for a Catholic only if it is firmly based on dogma and kept open to the Church's teaching authority. But we must realize that in the Church on earth, as in the Church in heaven, there are many mansions, and that the freedom of the sons of God is something wider than those outside the Church can sometimes see or understand.

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THE temptation which betrays many Catholics into diminishing the area of freedom possible within the Church is the same one that leads them into an excessive rigidity in political and cultural affairs. It might be called the "principled" temptation, and it is based on an error we might characterize as the "essentialist" error.

We are proud of our richness of principle and quick to deplore a lack of principle in our opponents; we are quick to seize on essences—to get to "the nature of things"—and ever ready to denounce the superficiality of those whose view of reality stops at mere externals. But this attitude has its own pitfalls. We frequently tend to pronounce upon complex realities as if they were merely principles, merely essences stripped of their particular existences. It is thus easy, too easy, for us to categorize reality, to distinguish our "friends" from our "foes," at one quick glance, and to demand of others conformity to our own judgment if they are to pass as "right-thinking" citizens. This is the ancient folly of the *bien pensants*.

Jacques Maritain has written of "the terrible general tendency of the conservative world to link the defense of its material interests with the defense of religion." This tendency is surely the danger in a purely "principled" approach to the temporal order—whether in the area of politics or the arts. We establish something as being, in principle, friendly to religion and, without further ado, identify the cause of religion with the cause of this thing. Therefore, if a political party professes a "militant" anti-Communism it deserves our support; if a novel takes an optimistic view of all things Catholic it is good. And the reverse holds too. If a political party or a novel does not do these things we denounce them. In all this we are betrayed into slogans and into a distortion of reality itself which, being complex, demands a complex judgment.

The great betrayal is to identify the cause of the Church with what are essentially temporal causes, to bind the Church to contingent things, to multiply "Catholic" positions without necessity. And, in this country at least, such a multiplication comes more frequently from quarters which pride themselves on strict orthodoxy than from those Catholics loosely known as "liberal." We are thus frequently presented with a "Catholic" position on every particular problem that arises to vex us—on every politician, every novel, every play. The admission of Red China to the UN? No Catholic can consider its possibility even in the future. Faulkner's novels? We should ban them. The Hollywood Production Code? We must fight any effort to change it.

Doubtless, such rigidity is a caricature of the Catholic position. Unfortunately, this caricature is all that many non-Catholics see as they observe some of the more articulate manifestations of Catholicism in Amer-

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ica today. This is the problem we must recognize and, to the extent that it exists, change if we are to contribute significantly, as Catholics, toward resolving the larger political and cultural problems of our milieu. We must work toward a Catholic climate which is more open to the problems of the world, and which approaches them in a spirit of humility rather than with an attitude of despair.

Too much of our thinking seems a hangover from the Church-State conflicts of the nineteenth century, a purely negative rejection of our age. Indeed, many of us seem determined to add to the Syllabus of Pius IX, to build up our own private appendix to that famous condemnation. It would be better to leave such tasks to the Holy See, which will warn us quickly enough when warnings are needed. In the meantime our work should be the more positive one of building whatever bridges are possible between the Church and the world. And this we can accomplish only through an expansion of freedom, charity and tolerance for those both within and outside of the Church.

SONNETS FOR DOOM

THIS question pricks now the residual clay:
When shall the doom walk up our wharves and streets,
and Christmas father the last jocund day?
The sybil leaves us guessing and love eats
the very wisdom of the will away.
Until our ignominy makes us whole
to read the ruin of our house and play
the mountains are not falling on my soul,
who shall refute the comprehending sky
we see and hear uncoil? The immediate earth,
anabasis to all we perish by,
expresses portents sun and moon are worth.
What we came out each century to see
anachronously postured was a tree.

THE obscure portion of our breath and ease
approximates the tremors of the spheres;
beyond our local genesis, degrees
of immitable absence thread the years
into an age of longing. Crooked lives
led upward to a city less maligned
by wine and war than exile where derives
a scything apathy to coax the mind
out of the promises her past rehearsed
in mime and passion till the dream fell true
and Jesus was a child who died of thirst
before the round world reckoned on a Jew.
Who heard his presence in the writhing air
foresuffered for the dead our children bear.

CAROL JOHNSON.

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The Church and the Arts

THE CHRISTIAN IDEAL IS THE HARMONIOUS COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE SACRED AND THE SECULAR.

JOHN W. SIMONS

WE know from the nature of the Church—the Church as a *sacramentum* or *mysterium*—that it must always to some extent exist in a state of tension with secular society. Once only in its bimillennial history has the Church been in intimate *rapport* with secular culture, and even then (in the high Middle Ages) the equilibrium between religion and culture was but precariously maintained. Still, the artistic monuments of that unique epoch serve to remind us of the Christian ideal—the harmonious collaboration between the sacred and the secular, between the supratemporal and the temporal, orders.

The last several centuries have witnessed a gradual withdrawal of all secular engagements from their Christian center, and an enfeebled Christianity is now at the periphery of life trying to neutralize those alien forces which, should they be permitted to complete the logic of their inner dynamism, would either destroy man or fashion him to a new barbarism. It is no longer simply the Church in Europe which is threatened with extinction; it is European civilization itself, that marvelous, complex entity of achievements and values which was wrought and came into its highest expression under the influence of the Catholic evangel.

In the general secularization of life which now prevails, the arts, which have always been regarded as man's noblest utterance, have likewise suffered. They have either acquiesced to that commercialism which Matthiessen saw as the chief destructive element in the art of fiction, or they have made a splendid gesture of rebellion and sought to draw nourishment from their own substance. But the arts cannot live apart from life nor can they be a surrogate for religious values. The aestheticism of the Left Bank and of Bloomsbury inevitably leads to an impasse.

If we explore history to try to discover the attitude of the Church towards the arts, we may or may not be scandalized. If we except the Renaissance, when the arts under the patronage of the princes of the Church made their most flagrant assertion, we find that its attitudes veered between outright hostility and discomfited fascination. The idea of the autonomy of art is really quite modern, and the proposition that "beauty is its own excuse for being" would have been regarded with misgivings by a Church which knew that beauty could seduce as well as convert. The proper sphere of the arts was in the illustration and explication of Divine truth, and even so exquisite an achievement as the Cathedral of Chartres must have found its chief justification, apart from the purpose which it shared with all other churches, as a kind of *summa* of Marian doctrine.

FROM the very beginning the problem of literature was special. First of all, the Church had its own literature, the Bible, and all other books seemed irrelevant. Besides, the literature which was taught in the imperial schools of rhetoric was a literature of pagans, filled with the fables and fictions which Christianity was pledged to oppose. What had Jerusalem to do with Athens, or the psalms with Horace? Yet, the pagan authors continued to exert their fascination, and Saint Jerome broke his promise not to read Cicero, and Alcuin "bootlegged" a copy of Vergil into his monastery.

In the end, to be sure, profane literature scored a victory. It was, however, an equivocal victory, for it was won on issues unconnected with literature as an art. It was a negative and partial victory, adequately formulated in the dictum of Saint Augustine: *"profani si quid bene dixerunt non aspernandum."* Thus it was that the pagan authors invaded the schools of the Christians, not as artists, but as purveyors of dimly perceived truths. Juvenal is accepted in his role of moral philosopher, and even for Dante, with his undisguised respect for the ancients, Horace is *"Orazio satiro,"* the shrewd commentator on men and manners. And the place of Vergil, the most beloved poet of the Middle Ages, was largely determined by a misreading of the Fourth Eclogue. The legend of Saint Paul's visit to the tomb of Vergil was deeply embedded in the Christian consciousness.

Of course, from our vantage point in time we can

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see that the Church simply had to come to terms with the "grammarians," a term which in late imperial times was equivalent to our "men of letters." It may have seemed a monstrous thing to the great-hearted Saint Gregory that the word of God should be made amenable to the rules of Donatus, but it was owing to the persistent wakefulness of Cassiodorus's monks at Vivarium that the Sacred Scriptures could be handed on at all.

FROM all this it can be seen that the Church's attitude, in so far as it could be called "official," was always decided with respect to the *unum necessarium*. Did the arts assist or retard mankind on its pilgrimage to heaven? It might oppose the iconoclasts (and thereby seem to champion the arts) or it might fulminate against itinerant minstrels and mimes (and thereby seem to oppose the arts), but these gestures were not towards the arts as such, but as expressions of an attitude in faith or morals. True, there always was and, presumably, always will be a puritan caste within the Church. We remember that while Peter the Venerable was commissioning artists and sculptors to adorn his abbey, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux was denuding his churches of almost all ornament. But the Church in practice has always looked upon the arts as a natural ally.

In the eyes of the Church, then, the arts had, on the surface at least, only what we should call today an "existential" sanction. They must be in the service of the Christian faith and respond to the aspirations of Christian living. Beyond this, the Church as such is noncommittal. Nevertheless, if her teaching ends here, her cultural influence does not. If the Christian faith is vital enough, and if it is culturally responsible, it can vitalize and redeem the arts, even those not directly in the service of religion. It does this, not by legislating as if it were a kind of art jury, but by leavening society in all its manifold activities. To speak of the Church as a "mother" or "patron" of the arts is, from one point of view, unfortunate. The arts as such are not her affair except in the relation I have described. We shall wait in vain for a papal encyclical on the Post-Impressionists. On the other hand, to imply that the arts have only an external relationship to the Christian faith (and therefore to Christian life) is to exile the arts to the museums and academies.

It is perhaps superfluous to state that an exalted purpose does not guarantee an exalted art. In modern times the arts have suffered a major humiliation at the hands of the devout. This situation is, of course, neither natural nor inevitable. Art has its own laws, and Dante is a great poet, not by reason of his exalted theme, but by reason of his exalted art. At

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the same time he is *the* Christian poet, and though critics have entangled themselves in all kinds of subtleties to allow non-believers to have a full appreciation of the *Divine Comedy*, it was a vital Christian culture which gave it being. Nor ought we to forget that Christian poets of the thirteenth century not only gave a truly religious orientation to the semi-pagan courtly epic but elevated its art at the same time. To Christianize a literary tradition is not necessarily to adulterate its art.

THE Church, then, performs its best service to the arts by remaining true to itself. It is not its essential function to fashion civilization or to inaugurate the structures of temporal society. Yet, while it initiates nothing, it animates everything, even the humblest of human endeavors. In the meantime, one of its chief educational preoccupations must be to keep alive a knowledge of the rich cultural past which was peculiarly its own, to discover Europe to itself, and to keep itself open to all that is vital in the dissolving structures of the modern world. If Western civilization is successful in its agonized efforts to recover its lost identity it must of necessity find its way to the centuries in which that civilization found its most noble and indigenous expression.

It was just such a quest which, at the turn of this century, led Henry Adams, who called himself a "quintessence of Boston," to Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres. If, as many think, the ultimate fate of Western civilization is to lie with the United States, it is clear that our nation must follow in the steps of Adams to learn of this thing it is so bravely and blunderingly attempting to save. Obviously, it ought to be the task of American Catholics to act as the sure and firm-footed guides on this pilgrimage to our cultural origins. It is they who ought to have the serene mastery of the terrain to be traversed and the monuments to be explored.

They ought to, but unfortunately they do not. Despite all educational effort, despite the forest of colleges and universities, Catholics are strangers to their own heritage. They have yielded to the great temptations of technology and have given but a grudging acknowledgment to the arts and humanities. There are signs that this intolerable situation is being recognized and that our educators are being aroused to a new awareness. But if only there were a more general realization of the desperate plight of Western culture and the new and staggering responsibilities which rest upon American Catholics, what miracles of hope and enlightenment might not ensue? This may well be the hour which Providence has assigned us and which will never come again. This may be, in a sense unknown to Mallarmé, *"le vierge, le vivace et le bel aujourd'hui."*

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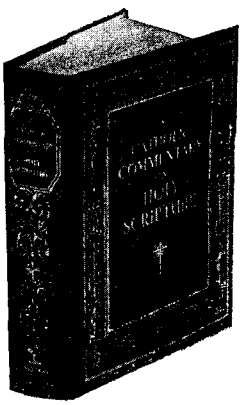

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But it will be in no sense—nor could it possibly assert itself to be—an authoritative or authorized mouthpiece of the Catholic Church. It will be the independent, personal product of its editors and contributors, who, for the most part, will be laymen. Its pages will be open to writers holding different forms of Christian belief, and in some cases to authors who do not profess any form of Christian faith. Where the opinions of its editors, contributors and readers differ on subjects yet unsettled by competent authority, it will be an open forum for the discussion of such differences in a spirit of good temper.

There is being promulgated a widely accepted theory of what civilization is, or what it should be, which, if it proves successful means the end of Christendom, so far as the expression or influence of Christian principles and ideas in the institutions of civilized life are concerned. It is unquestionably a spiritual, moral, and patriotic duty for thinking people at least to make an effort to apply the conserving and regenerative forces of the fountain head of Christian tradition, experience and culture to the problems that today all men of good will are seeking to solve.

Editorial, November 12, 1924.

1928 Campaign

MANY thousands of Americans are fully prepared to violate the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution by stirring up and organizing political opposition to Governor Smith because he is a Catholic. Everybody knows that fact. The Commonweal does not nor will it give its support to Governor Smith because he is a Catholic—but it does and must stand with those men and women of many religious faiths or opinions who condemn or oppose the efforts now palpable and increasing to make a man's religious belief a black mark.

Editorial, August 29, 1928.

Need for Reform

THE economic depression is really paralleled by the political depression. The same lack of coherent views exists among political leaders as among the dethroned and discredited leaders of our economic processes. The same lack of faith and hope exists among the masses of the people, considered as party members and voters, as there is among the same people considered as units of the economic system.

Meanwhile, there is growing among the American people a widespread and deep-rooted, if inarticulate, and partly subconscious, disposition to distrust and to condemn politicians, root and branch. This feeling—for it cannot be called a conviction, or a reasoned opinion—of the futility and disorganization of our present political methods, is at present far from being acute, or susceptible of being used for the basis and driving force of any radical change of our governmental processes. But such explosions as the Communist revolution, or such reactions back to systems of dictatorship or extremely centralized forms of government, which have occurred in Italy, Spain, England and Germany, are certainly not out of the question in the United States. For the fundamental elements which produce drastic changes of a political or social system are present in the American situation, as in Europe, and may be counted upon to work toward the same results, if not corrected or alleviated by prompt and effective reform. . . .

Editorial, June 15, 1932.

Liberty in Peril

IT has been said time and time again that in this crisis people are starving in the midst of plenty. Yet nobody has as yet quite exhausted the meaning of this statement. The fact is that we confront the passing of the most basic of all liberties—the right to get from the bounteous earth that which is available, that which is needed in order to live. Man's privilege to think, to

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worship, to develop his personality beautifully and harmoniously—all this is of a higher order than the stilling of hunger and thirst, but is threatened also when bread is withheld. Millions of people in this country are now too scared or too stunned to think. And the very sources of American culture are being covered with a sheet of ice.

When in any society the majority reach such an impasse, the first step toward remedial activity is the creation of a new authority. The masses contribute only pain, anger and timidity. Those who have ruled abdicate. And there rises, almost in response to the subconscious instincts of a society, a power genuinely elemental—a power to which cling all the roots and tendrils of the life which a nation has sunk into the soil of history. It is usually stark, fierce and undisciplined. The rhythm of an unformed ideology governs its movements. And so, in the twinkling of an eye, phenomena like Hitlerism stand before us.

We in America can no longer expect to escape some such development. And it is well that we who are Catholics should remember the historic social mission of the Church. This knows neither class nor other distinctions. It is, therefore, historically a mission of the center, characterized by its reverence for facts rather than theories. But what are we doing to realize it here and now? To anyone who looks at the trend of events or ideas, it will certainly seem as if the Catholic body were drifting hither and thither with the storm. There exists, to be sure, a place of refuge in the faith. But that faith is properly social as well as individual. It relies, humanly speaking, as much upon the interactions of men as upon the heart of a single man. We have need, dire and bitter need, of sanctified thinking and decision about what is to be our collective life in the near future. The position we take up may not suffice for victory. But in the long run it will protect us from defeat.

Editorial, May 12, 1933.

The Rising Tide

DEMOCRACY has been overthrown in Germany and the bonfires of the restoration of Prussian plutocracy and nationalistic militarism are burning near the gates of half the powder magazines of Europe. Russia is resuming on a monstrous scale that enslavement of its helpless farming folk which the atheistic tyranny that rules that vast and powerful country intends as the final act to make complete the welding together of a militarized and disciplined mass of uprooted humanity which is being rapidly prepared to attempt the conquest of the world. . . .

Editorial, March 15, 1933.

NO amount of official denials can conceal the fact that [in Germany under Hitler] Jews as Jews have been subjected to a bigoted discrimination and a persecution wholly unjust and abhorrent to all believers in the human rights of personal liberty, equal justice under

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the protection of law, and cultural and religious freedom and equality of status.

Editorial, April 5, 1933.

Spanish Civil War

ONE government [in Spain], or part of it, has instigated, or at least permitted, the murder of priests, nuns and lay people; has utilized ruthless methods of accomplishing social and political and economic ends, and chosen, as far as it is possible to see, many objectives in all these fields that should be condemned. Its alliance with Russia implies some, if an unknown, degree of identification with the evils of the Soviet regime.

The second government, which gives the Church open support, yet, in its conduct of warfare, repeatedly and despite protests from the Holy Father, destroys defenseless civilians, particularly by its air raids upon cities. Air raids made by one side cannot cancel out those made by the other. Many of its leaders give utterance to totalitarian views very similar to those which have been condemned by the Church in other countries. The system of government it utilizes and favors, so far as can be seen, contains elements that should be sharply rejected. Its alliance with the Fascist and Nazi nations implicates it to some, if an uncertain, extent in the evils of those regimes. . . .

In this country there has been violent partisanship either for the Spanish Nationalists or for the Madrid-Barcelona government. We feel that violent American partisanship on either side with regard to the Spanish question is bad, not only because the facts are obscure, but chiefly because both sides include elements that no American wants imported into this country. . . .

To be strongly partisan concerning the Spanish Civil War is indeed to aggravate a current intellectual disease: the conviction that we are going to be forced to choose between fascism and Communism. This is a dangerous disease; sufferers from it are blinded by it to the truth that both systems are anti-Christian and secularist. . . .

It is for these reasons that we believe that the wisest, as also the most charitable and perhaps the most difficult, policy for Americans is to maintain that "positive impartiality," a sanity of judgment toward both sides in Spain, expressing a preference for specific ideas and actions when they are certainly known, but being an uncritical partisan of neither.

Editorial, June 24, 1938.

Anti-Semitism

THE real ideology of anti-Semitism is racial and this is the most widespread of all forms of hatred of the Jews. . . . This racial anti-Semitism is unacceptable to the Christian philosophy: it is irreconcilable with Christian universalism. . . . It was Christianity which proclaimed the truth that there is neither Greek nor Jew. Christianity

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is intended for all men and every man, regardless of his race, nationality, class or social position. Neither racial anti-Semitism nor racism in general can withstand criticism from the religious, moral or scientific viewpoint. The Christian cannot accept such a theory, because he is obliged to see in every man the image and likeness of God.

Nicholas A. Berdyaev,
"The Crime of Anti-Semitism,"
April 21, 1939.

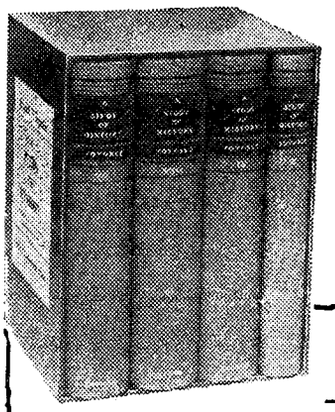
Russia and Germany

NO one must look for the similarity between Russia and Germany on the superficies. The likeness is not one of ideas or even personalities. Other similarities are more beguiling without being of more elemental significance. Stalin is, true enough, the paradox of Marxism turned imperialist, while Hitler is the paradox of German imperialism turned "socialist." Both pose as inspirers of a new art and culture; both are grandiose builders; both are surrounded night and day with guards who slay not merely the lurking enemy but the possibly disillusioned friend. All these things are not the central, towering thing—the fact that Nazism and Bolshevism alike are today ideologies whirling along without any connection with the causes whence they sprang or the goals to which they might lead. The faith which once informed the followers of each is gone. There remains a horrible, almost demoniacal drift towards historical revivals which today possess no meaning.

George N. Shuster,
"Prelude to World Revolution,"
November 3, 1939.

World War II

THE violence to the spirit, the death and the destruction of men, institutions and resources that inflicts and impends over our people and the world makes every attempt at cooler analysis feel like an in-



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dignity, like an insult to the good that is to be blasted. But however closely caught we are in this human calamity, we are obligated as human beings to search out what is, and to find what is possible. We must put our energies into the creative currents of this wild time as much as possible, in order to survive and in order to have a livable world to survive in. We must try to distinguish between using the organized energies of the war to build a positive peace from merely dissipating those energies in destroying symptoms and symbols of the forces fighting against us. We must make a distinction between calling forth sacrifices for a common effort on one hand and taking advantage of the war situation for personal or group advantage on the other.

Most of all, our human ignorance about the course of history, our inability to judge the happiness of strangers, our essential ignorance about what act and what condition are for the final benefit of other persons whose spirit and conscience we do not know, must enforce the human and Christian precept that man must regard the good or evil of his act and leave the resolution of his life and history to God alone. We do not know the ends that would evolve historically from our worldly judgment. Our social plans and political objectives must be relative. We are accountable for the means we use.

Editorial, December 19, 1941.

The Bourgeois Spirit

THE bourgeois is a person with a negative prefix. In the sphere of morality it is the person who puts respectability above a genuine integration of Christ's principles and natural moral law into his or her personality. The bourgeois *is* the unheroic man who scorns the extraordinary ways of Christianity as being the extravagant way of fools. . . . A bourgeois is a surface man who is more concerned about the conventions of polite life than truth, honesty and genuineness. The

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bourgeois is uncreative and suspects genius as genuinely disturbing. The bourgeois wants safety, safety in every respect, financial, political, social and moral. His greatest delight is mediocrity, efficiency and respectability. The bourgeois' father is puritanism and his mother is the acquisitive spirit. Only in one field the bourgeois shows a sort of heroism, in the field of his economic endeavors, which is an unspiritual, material and thoroughly secular sphere of life.

H. A. Reinhold,
"Inroads of the Bourgeois Spirit,"
February 27, 1942.

"The Christian Front"

WE have direct, institutional—as it were, personal—grievances against *Social Justice,* reaching back many years, which, while they might irrelevantly threaten the propriety of our motives, still have objective validity as charges against *Social Justice* and Father Coughlin and the Christian Front. That pack has howled against The Commonweal as an organ of false Christians, traitors to the American way of life, a Trojan horse of Communism, an instrument of "the Jews." We feared their program, their methods, their emotional and mental framework as working against peace and justice, domestic and international.

That the impact of *Social Justice* was totalitarian, brutal and intolerant, The Commonweal knew and said from the beginning. That the *Social Justice* politicians are tough with a ruthless toughness that must astound people who are not yet accustomed to the "new orders" and "new statements" of the period, we have always recognized, although that recognition we admit grows stronger as time goes along. *Social Justice* just doesn't give a damn what conventional or traditional judgments Americans make of its words and deeds and passions. . . .

The anti-Semitism of *Social Justice* is of the universal, hysterical variety that corrupts the total point of view and cannot be abstracted from its politics, economics and sociology and cannot be set up in logical propositions which reason can, by disproving, eliminate. Its anti-Semitism is against logic, experience, science and, most important, so far as we understand it, the whole truth and spirit of Christianity.

What is the politics of *Social Justice*? . . . . In our view the politics of *Social Justice* is of the new order; it is a drive for power, pure and unrestricted. In power, one has reason to fear, the Coughlinites would improvise practical steps, not to accord with any platform we recognize them as being committed to, but in accordance with the demands of their power. With Machiavellian artistry which should be taken more seriously, *Social Justice* selects the issues of its demagoguery to forward its influence among groups. . . .

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affairs of Faith and Hope and Charity than *Social Justice* portrays in its pages. We would publicize another politics and economics and social outlook than *Social Justice* does. It is our hope that everyone will leave off following the brutal line which that magazine draws. If *Social Justice* continues to descend down the road it follows now, our hope is that its readers will quickly turn and by free conviction abandon it to an unheard, unseen and most unlamented disappearance.

Editorial, April 10, 1942.

Intolerance

IF man's vocation were to be merely a sheep, the case for intolerance would be perfectly unassailable. If man were designed to sacrifice individual existence in favor of the social whole, again the case for intolerance would be convincing. If ends could justify means, the case for intolerance would look good. If actions prompted by fears of disaster were necessarily holy actions, intolerance would carry the day. If dissent were always immorality, intolerance once more would sweep the board. . . . It is just as important to civilized men that men should believe in the doctrine of religious freedom as it is that they should believe that the earth is round. As the modern geographic idea on the shape of the earth adjusts itself to real fact, so also religious freedom, including the right to worship as one chooses and to propagate what one believes to be religious truth, adjusts itself to the historical facts of human life, thought and experience. History is strewn with the social shipwrecks of societies based on the principle of religious intolerance.

James N. Vaughan,
"On Modern Intolerance,"
May 9, 1942.

Hiroshima

WE had to invent the bomb because the Germans were going to invent the bomb. . . . We

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had to test the bomb and we tested it in a desert. If we were to threaten the use of it against the Japanese, we could have told them to pick a desert and then go look at the hole. Without warning we dropped it into the middle of a city and then without warning we dropped it into the middle of another city. . . . For our war, for our purposes, to save American lives we have reached the point where we say that anything goes. That is what the Germans said at the beginning of the war. Once we have won our war we say that there must be international law. Undoubtedly.

When it is created, Germans, Japanese and Americans will remember with horror the days of their shame.

Editorial, August 24, 1945.

Segregation

THE racist mind has contrived an almost limitless number of evasive analogies to justify the unjustifiable. They are evasive because they all ignore the crucial point which makes *racial* segregation essentially different from other kinds of segregation. . . . It is difficult for the mind to emancipate itself from widely accepted social patterns. The history of the polemics about slavery provides a striking example of this. Today the Christian conscience instinctively repudiates slavery and without the necessity of recourse to involved casuistry recognizes it as incompatible with the dignity of man. Yet less than one hundred years ago the pattern of slavery was so woven into the social fabric that its protagonists found no trouble enlisting in its defense the support of reputable moralists. The treatises they wrote make interesting reading today. One does not know whether to admire their ingenuity or pity their ingenuousness.

It is probable—at least we must think so if we are not to despair—that one hundred years from now the Christian conscience will repudiate with equal decisiveness the whole pattern of racial segregation. In that happy event the lucubrations of mid-twentieth century apologists for Jim Crow will make interesting, if sad, reading.

Meanwhile the mind, faced with a conflict between Christian principles and sound Christian instincts on the one hand and deeply rooted social prejudices on the other, ingeniously tailors the former to fit the latter. It is not always a conscious betrayal, although sometimes it is. The mind subconsciously—sometimes consciously—sows with rationalizations and evasions all ap-

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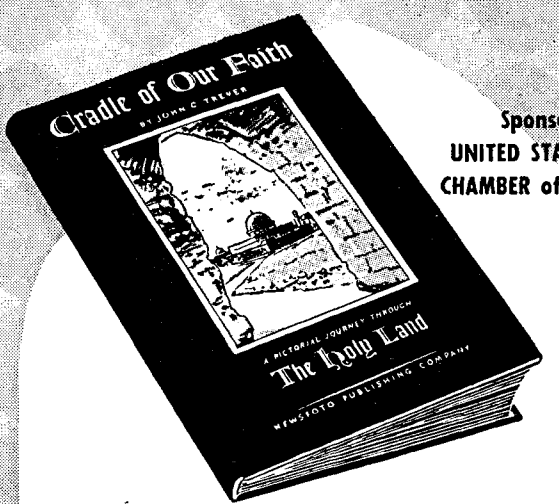

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proaches through which the imperative voice of principle might reach the center of conscience. After all, it really is easier to obey man rather than God. That is why most men are conformists. . . . There is no need for statistics, no need for distinction and subdistinction. It is Christ Who is turned out of your school, out of your church, out of your hospital. It is Christ Who is ordered out of your restaurant, out of your neighborhood, out of your Pullman car. It is Christ Who is insulted, humiliated.

George H. Dunne, S.J.,
"The Sin of Segregation,"
September 21, 1945.

Art and Matter

THE art which has been spawned on false classicism by genuises themselves misbegotten of imperfect Catholicism has sought escape from reality rather than awesome penetration into reality . . . for reverence, sacred and essential to a true Christian spirit, reverence for God and all the works of God, has been substituted sentiment, and for love has been substituted sensuality. . . . The yawn begins in childhood and nausea comes in due time.

The true artist, the maker, is called to help restore the fallen world, the stolen world; to restore man's dominion over matter, granted first to Adam who called the beasts by their names and they obeyed him, the dominion given man for God's sake and appropriated by Satan for his own purposes. Thus Church and artist have a single aim: to glorify God by giving Him back the praise of His creation intelligently, holily employed. . . . This is holy work, holy in its doing and in its effects.

David Ross King,
"Art and Matter,"
April 11, 1947.

China Policy

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rines we have in Chinese areas, if we should withhold military supplies, withdraw military advisers and the like, we should compound our past neglect and the concessions forced upon China at Yalta, and we should leave the Chinese prey to a civil war which would render them more helpless and wretched than ever. And it would be folly for us to insist on Kuomintang-Communist coalition government. The interests of the Chinese people and the cause of peace now depend upon the establishment of an effective central authority under Chiang Kai-shek.

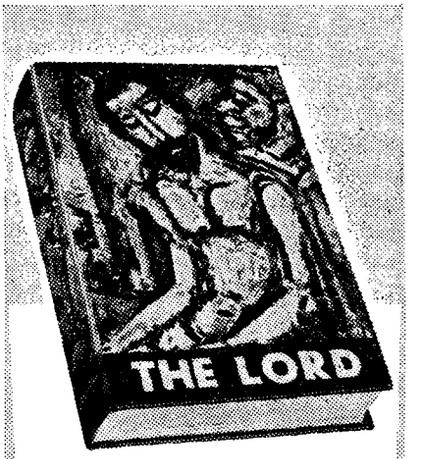
Editorial, August 9, 1946.

HOW is it possible to reconcile a pro-Communist China policy with our European Recovery program—how does it make sense to spend billions reconstructing free, non-Communist Europe and at the very same time sit down and watch totalitarian forces beat down the back door in Asia? Why should we lament totalitarian advances in Germany, Czechoslovakia, or in France, and not in China? Or can it be that we are not completely disabused of the fable that Communism in China is strictly a nice, local, independent reform movement unrelated to Kremlin tactics?

Editorial, December 17, 1948.

Faith

FAITH is an obscure communion with the infinitely luminous knowledge which the divine Abyss has of itself. Faith leads us to the depths of God. Faith stands above any human system no matter how valid; it is concerned with revelation, with that which cannot be named by man, yet has desired to make itself known to us in terms all may understand. The transcendence of faith leads to a strange paradox: faith in its own domain—in the things which are *of faith*—unites minds absolutely and upon certainties absolutely essential to human life; it alone can create such a unity of minds. But faith only creates unity of minds from above; it does not create unity of doctrine or of behavior in any of the categories of



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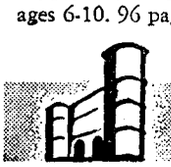

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our activities which touch only human affairs which are not *of faith.*

Jacques Maritain,
"Ways of Faith,"
November 4, 1949.

Presidential Power

WE are not in agreement with the President's action [in seizing the steel plants]. Government action may in the end have been necessary, but a better way could have been devised. However general and accurate may be the conviction that Harry Truman has no desire to become a dictator, his methods in this case seem to have been much too arbitrary. Nor was the curse taken off Mr. Truman's action by his *ex post facto* appeal to Congress.

The power used in this instance to seize the steel plants, if not subject to some checks or judicial review, could spell the end of essential guarantees against arbitrary action without due process of law. The same methods now used for the benefit of unions could on another occasion be turned against them with telling effect. If government operation of the steel plants was necessary to prevent their closing, Mr. Truman should have asked Congress for enabling legislation rather than calling on vague and unspecified powers to do it on his own.

Editorial, April 25, 1952.

Senator McCarthy

WE do not believe that Senator McCarthy is an isolated phenomenon in American life. We believe rather that his activities, methods and influence touch American life at its most vital points. And this for the fundamental reason that these points—the questions of our opposition to the USSR, the power of the Federal government and the exercise of that power—do not exist in a vacuum. They involve a philosophy of the rights and dignity of the human person, of ends and

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means, which we see threatened by that overriding disease of our age which is totalitarianism. The proper name of this disease has been German Nazism and Russian Communism. But it is a virulent sickness, it can infect those who profess to fight it. . . .

It is as the native manifestation of this disease—the threat of an internal totalitarianism in reaction against an external one—that we have understood "McCarthyism." And since we have seen McCarthyism as self-defeating, a threat to our victory in the cold war, to the orderly processes of the Federal government, and to that regard for individual freedom and dignity which give America its meaning, we have fought it. It is because we are anti-Communist that we are anti-McCarthy. . . .

The individual remains important. The single calumny, the particular stupidity, the isolated injustice remain important. To the extent that they no longer seem important, to that extent America has been defeated. For in each case the destiny of America, and the world, is in a real sense involved. . . .

It is because of this, because we believe that the activities of the junior Senator from Wisconsin and the ism which bears his name have threatened the basic decencies, the objectivity and the order of our national life, that we have fought them. We have been "America-firsters" in this sense: we do not believe that we can defeat the totalitarian threat which comes from abroad unless we oppose that threat when it manifests itself at home. Opposition to both should go together.

Editorial, August 28, 1953.

Church and State

THE sacral ideal has its attractions, and the medieval ideal of synthesis of Church and State is so impressive that we have been slow to see that it was an anomaly rather than a norm. But its departure should be a matter of rejoicing rather than for the nostalgic regrets of the apologists of the

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Idols must still be destroyed; but now men must freely destroy their own idols rather than have them destroyed by *force majeure*. Loving evangelism must replace sectarian proselytization; honest encounter must replace intimidation; the smoking flax must be fanned instead of quenched. To all this the theologian should have much to contribute. Perhaps he may even contribute to laying a firmer foundation for the Western world's precarious experiment in toleration itself.

Victor White, O.P.,
"Religious Tolerance,"
September 4, 1953.

Christian Culture

IT is not the business of Christianity to defend our secularized Western culture from the menace of social or political revolution. From the Christian point of view there is not much to choose between passive agnosticism and indifferentism and active materialism. In fact, both of them may be different symptoms or phases of the same spiritual disease. What is vital is to recover the moral and spiritual foundations on which the lives of both the individual and the culture depend: to bring home to the average man that religion is not a pious fiction which has nothing to do with the facts of life, but that it is concerned with realities, that it is in fact the pathway to reality and the law of life. This is no easy trick, since a completely secularized culture is a world of make-believe in which the figures of the cinema and the cartoon-strip appear more real than the figures of the Gospel.

Christopher Dawson,
"Future of Christian Culture,"
March 19, 1954.

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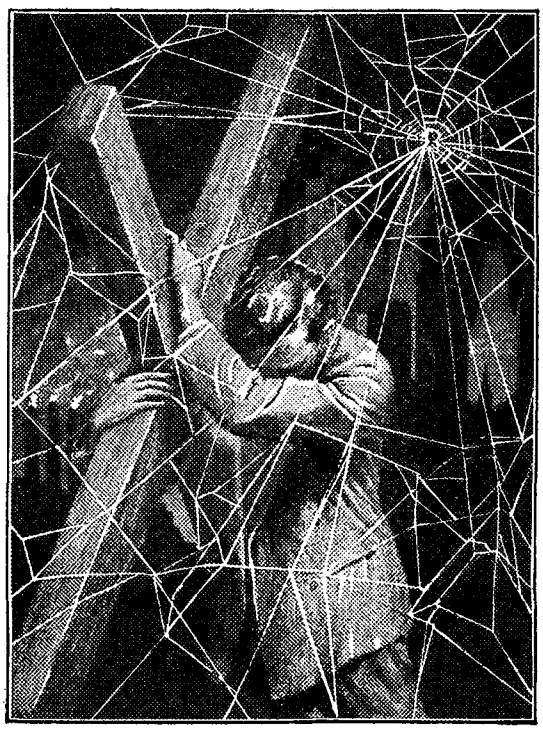

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